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A SKETCH
OF THE
INTERNAL CONDITION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AND OF THEIR
Political relations with Europe.

A SKETCH
OF THE
INTERNAL CONDITION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AND OF THEIR
POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH EUROPE.

BY A RUSSIAN.

Politika, Petr I

U
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY AN AMERICAN.

WITH NOTES.

*Notes of
the Russian
Government*



Baltimore:
PUBLISHED BY E. J. COALE.
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1826.

JK411
P6

District of Maryland—to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the third day of August, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Edward J. Coale, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A Sketch of the Internal Condition of the United States of America, and of their Political Relations with Europe. By A. Russian. Translated from the French, by an American; with notes."

In conformity with the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and also to the Act, entitled, "An Act Supplementary to the Act, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,'" and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching, historical, and other prints."

PHILIP MOORE,
Clerk of the District of Maryland.

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

A COPY of the following volume was received, by the publisher, directly from the author. It was immediately translated from the French, in which it was originally written, that it might be offered without delay to the American public. The rapidity with which this was executed, will be an apology for any inaccuracies that may be discovered. The notes are meant for a further illustration of the distinguished author's opinions, and an explanation of such as may, from the change of circumstances, seem to be erroneous. His mistakes are so few and slight, that it would be scarcely necessary to notice them, if we did not suppose, from the distinguished author's impartiality and information, that such corrections would give him pleasure. Many alterations, both in our condition and policy, have ensued since the work was written,

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

which we find from the date of the author's preface (accidentally omitted in the translation,) to have been at Washington, in February, 1823. The acquaintance with our laws, manners and customs, which he displays in the following sketch, and the equal justice with which he notes our merits and our faults, will do him honor with the liberal and honest. In his praise he is never indiscriminate, in his censure never harsh or fretful: and his profound acquaintance with our country, and due appreciation of our institutions, must surprise us in a man, born and bred under others so entirely dissimilar.

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PREFACE.

THE materials of this work were originally collected during my first residence in the United States of America, in the years 1810, 1811, and 1812. On my return to Europe in the last mentioned year, I had not leisure to commit them to writing, being too much engaged in the memorable events which caused the destruction of the French Army in Russia; events, which, to use such an expression, duty required me to follow, and which in fact I did follow, until the dissolution of the Congress of Aix de la Chapelle about the end of the year 1818.

A second residence of three years in the United States, whither I returned in 1819, gave me an opportunity of correcting and developing the views I had previously taken of that country; and the extensive excursions I made into the interior, were with that object alone.

Comparing then my first impressions with the result of my subsequent observations, I found but little difficulty in discovering the imperfectness of my former labour; for during the interval of seven years which had elapsed between my two visits to the United States, the changes, or to speak more accurately, the improvements in all the departments of domestic economy, surpassed the most sanguine calculations of political prophecy. Wretched villages, which I had left in the midst of impenetrable forests, had assumed the appearance of flourishing towns. Cultivated fields had taken the place of heaths, which not long before seemed impassible, and over ground, which could scarcely be traversed in country wagons, mail stages were to be seen whirling along with the greatest rapidity. Such changes are particularly remarkable in the western part of the State of New York.

A metamorphosis so sudden and striking, convinced me of the uselessness of swelling out this work with details purely statistical: for as long as the United States continues to offer so great a disproportion between the number of its inhabitants and the extent of its territory; and the

astonishing fertility of the soil in many sections of the country, to repay liberally the labour of the cultivator; it is certain that its statistics will always in their details, be liable to important alterations. It will therefore be difficult for an exact and scrupulous observer to give a satisfactory view of a country, subject at every moment to changes more or less obvious.

I think it therefore proper to apprise my readers, if this work should be fortunate enough to have them, that they will not find in it, statistical details sufficiently copious to afford a complete view of the actual physical resources of the United States. They will likewise, vainly seek for private anecdotes in which loungers so much delight.

In this view of the political and social condition of the United States, the reader will find nothing but facts, which, being permanent in themselves, will, for a long time to come, appear still the same to the most superficial observer.

A SKETCH
OF THE
INTERNAL CONDITION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



CALIFORNIA

FIRST SECTION.
GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

FROM the irrevocable recognition of the political independence of the United States of America, by the Treaty of Paris, of 1783, until towards the present time, the world has seen them prosper with a rapidity without example in the history of the most civilized nations.

Natural and immutable causes, joined to others entirely accidental and transient, have concurred in producing the extraordinary developement of industry, in a country so recently emancipated, and so far from the great focus of civilization.

Among the permanent causes, we must assign the first rank to the geographical situation of the United States, which gives them all the advantages of an insular position, in regard to external security, without excluding those which result from the possession of a territory immense in extent and susceptible of every species of culture. To be perfectly secure in the peaceful enjoyment of this vast and beautiful domain, the North Americans never had nor have they now any other but tribes of Indian hunters to contend with, which daily and visibly diminish by the necessary effects of their precarious and wandering life. The great extent of fertile lands, and the abundance of the means of subsistence in the United States are the more favourable to the population, as it is naturally active, laborious and enterprising. Thus have we seen it double itself in the space of twenty years succeeding the war of their Independence. This single fact in their statistical annals, has not since been repeated.

To this principal cause of the so rapidly increasing prosperity of the United States, we should undoubtedly add the salutary influence

of a government as imperceptible in its progress as in its operations. Here, locality has again been favourable to that country. The absence of all immediate neighbourhood that could be dreaded, enables them to afford to their republican institutions all the latitude which the opinions and prevailing habits of the people could claim. Wisely judging that the existence of a standing army would badly accord with the genius of a popular government, they have reduced it to a handful of men, so that they have no cause to apprehend any serious inconvenience to the safety or tranquillity of the American Confederation.

Their civil and political laws have been conceived in a spirit eminently calculated to guard individual liberty. Such must be the case in a country, in which, since its first colonization, the hatred of political or religious persecution has been transmitted from age to age as a revered tradition.

It is well known that the first colonists who came to the United States, were men who had abandoned their own country to seek refuge from the civil troubles with which England was

agitated about the middle of the seventeenth century. Many of them fled from the religious persecution, to which the English protestants were exposed during the reign of the Stuarts. These colonists were the first legislators of the country. It is therefore natural that all their ideas, all their solicitude should be directed to the adoption of the most effectual measures against arbitrary and religious intolerance. In fact, among the first institutions and municipal laws which governed the English Colonists of North America until their emancipation, we find the most protecting spirit of liberty and the most unlimited freedom of conscience. The war of Independence, commonly called in Europe the American War, effected but little change in these matters, because the sole object of that war was political Independence* and not

*The principal, and indeed the only cause of the differences between England and her colonies of North America, was the right asserted by the British Parliament and Government to tax the colonies without the consent of their local Legislatures. It is only necessary to read the petitions which the colonists addressed to the King of England on that subject, and the declaration of their Independence promulgated on the 4th of July 1776, to be convinced that civil liberty had no agency in causing that celebrated war, and that political rights alone were the ground of hostilities. This assertion is confirmed by Dr. Franklin in his memoirs.

civil liberty, which the Anglo-Americans had enjoyed in an equal degree with their English brethren.

So true is this, that when the rupture took place between the mother country and the colonies, some of the thirteen confederated states retained their ancient constitutions granted by the British Government; and what is still more remarkable, these very states were considered more democratical than the rest. It will be sufficient to offer as an example the state of Connecticut, which, until the year 1818, had not changed its original constitution under which political power was delegated but for six months.

The state of Rhode Island to this very moment is governed by a constitution granted by the Kings of England. (*App. Note A.*)

Yet however powerful may be the action of these causes which we have mentioned, they are not adequate to the explanation of the development of the prodigious natural resources of the United States of America. Accidental causes have perhaps contributed more efficiently than the former. At the epoch of the French Revolution, the United States had just emerged

from numberless difficulties, against which they had struggled in consequence of the deranged condition of their finances which the sacrifices incident to their war of Independence had rendered necessary; and by the inherent defects of a confederated government, badly defined in its powers, badly understood, and therefore badly administered.

The Federal Constitution of 1788, which since that period has governed, and still continues to govern the American confederation, without prejudice to the rights of sovereignty, reserved to themselves respectively by the several states composing the Union, being better adapted to the wants of the country, looked to the most important objects and marked out for the general government, a safer course and a more regular action. Under the ægis of this government as defective as it would appear at the first glance, the United States have presented themselves to the nations of Europe to claim their part in the great commerce of the world and the navigation of its seas. This participation would have been inconsiderable, taking into consideration the sparseness of the population, the excessive dearness of every spe-

cies of workmanship, without the long and bloody wars, of which the French Revolution was either the cause or the pretext. Seeing nothing to fear from the eruptions of this political volcano, the North Americans profited by the misfortunes of Europe: and having by a series of favourable circumstances, become the only neutral nation of the civilized world, they soon appropriated to themselves the universal coasting trade, concurrently with the English, who ruled the seas, without being able nevertheless to subdue the coasts, from which they were constantly repulsed. Whether the neutral commerce or the coasting trade proved most advantageous to the Americans, or to the other nations with whom it was carried on, certain it is that the profits derived from it by the former were so enormous, that after having paid for all the consumptions of the United States, in foreign merchandise, there still remained enough to gratify the expensive taste of arising luxuriousness and the no less costly refinements of fashionable life.

The violent measures against neutral navigation adopted at different periods, by the governments of France and England, diminished some-

what the gains of the Americans by multiplying the risks: but they could not suppress their spirit of enterprise and speculation, because in the event of success, their profits amply compensated them for the hazard they were obliged to encounter.

On the other hand, the war which took place in Spain, opened to the Americans a certain and lucrative market. During five or six years following the commencement of the year 1809, the English, Spanish and Portuguese armies were supplied with provisions exported from the United States. The large profits they obtained at Lisbon and Cadiz, by the sale of American flour, raised the price of that article to ten and eleven dollars per barrel in all the maritime cities of the United States. Mr. Pitkin, who for a long time was a representative from Connecticut in the American Congress, and whose statistics of the United States are held in high esteem for their accuracy, makes the American flour exported to Spain and Portugal during the

years 1812 and 1813 amount to the quantities stated below.*

The influence of such high prices, kept up by circumstances during several years, on all branches of agriculture, or rather on the general industry of the United States, may be easily conceived. Some statistical facts, drawn from the most authentic sources, hereto annexed, will serve to confirm our assertions.

	In 1791	In 1801	In 1811
Number of Inhabitants,	3,921,326	5,319,762	7,239,903
Value of Exports in dollars	19,012,041	94,115,925	61,316,833
Tonnage—tons, - - -	502,146	1,033,218	1,232,502
Revenue in dollars, - - -	4,771,342	12,945,455	14,422,634
Expenditure do - - -	3,797,436	12,273,376	13,592,604
Public Debt do - - -	75,169,974	82,000,167	47,855,070

This table is extracted from a work published in 1818, in Philadelphia, under the title of, *Statistical Annals of the United States of America, founded on official documents, commencing*

* To Spain:		Flour in barrels.
1812.	- - 8,865.	- - - 381,726.
1813.	- - 74,409.	- - - 431,101.
To Portugal.		
1812.	- - - 33,591.	- - 557,218.
1813.	- - - 214,126.	- - 542,399.

These exportations for the year 1813 alone were worth on the spot, 11,213,447 dollars, and ought to have produced when sold at Market at least 15,000,000 dollars,—(75,000,000 roubles in Bank Notes.)

on the 4th of March, 1789, and ending on the 20th of April, 1818. By ADAM SEYBERT, M. D. (Page 10.) (*App. Note B.*)

This prosperous state of things did not begin to alter until the anti-commercial decrees of Napoleon, and the scarcely less unjust and iniquitous British orders in Council were executed in all their force, not only on the high seas, but even on the coasts of the United States; and, if we may use the expression, within the very glare of the American light-houses. Nevertheless these inconveniences were diminished by means of licenses, which the French government then publicly sold, and which were obtained as easily in England, notwithstanding that government managed the affair with more apparent modesty and good faith.

The war declared by the American government against England in 1812, in opposition to its own judgment, and solely to gratify the clamorous demands of a powerful party actuated by personal considerations, a war awkwardly conducted by both parties, but which terminated so fortunately for the United States, was the first retrogressive step in their career of prosperity.

It is difficult to estimate the disastrous consequences which the prolongation of it another year, would have entailed on the finances, agriculture, commerce and navigation of the United States.

The miraculous peace of Ghent, as the Americans themselves call it, re-produced an extraordinary, although transient activity in the general industry of the country, or rather revived the extravagant spirit of speculation among the inhabitants. But the pacification of Europe entirely reversed the former order of things, whose operation was so favourable to the Americans. The changes which took place in Europe paralyzed all the efforts they made after the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent, to repossess themselves of the advantages they had so long enjoyed in commerce and navigation.

When the great avenues to these two sources of national wealth were opened to all the nations of Europe, and when they hastened successively to reclaim their share, that of the Americans diminished as rapidly as it had increased. Of the truth of this assertion, facts extracted from offi-

cial documents published by the order of Congress in 1821, will offer irrefragable proof.*

All the maritime cities of the United States were glutted with European merchandise, whilst a portion of the products of the soil, such as corn and flour, for want of a market in Europe, rotted on their hands. In consequence of the pacification this branch of commerce devolved on Russia. From her ports on the Black Sea, Europe was supplied with provisions during the calamitous years of 1816, and 1817; and it is more than probable that Russia will, for a long time, continue to furnish the south of Europe with grain at least, for she can partially do so, at a much cheaper rate than the United States.

The general distress which prevailed in the United States as well as in Europe, brought about by the too rapid transition from a long

*The annual products of the United States were in

1815—36,306,022 dollars, 51 cents.

1816—27,484,100 dollars, 36 cents.

1817—17,524,775 dollars, 15 cents.

1818—21,828,451 dollars, 48 cents.

1819—19,116,702 dollars.

1820—15,005,320 dollars.

(*Report of the Committee of ways and means, upon the subject of the Revenue February 1821.*)

state of war to that of universal peace, was heightened by the multiplication of Banks and the shameful abuses of which some were guilty in the employment of their funds.

The disappearance of specie, the invariable consequence of too great an emission of paper money, the general distrust, the simultaneous stagnation in all branches of industry, the depreciation of every species of property, the reduction of salaries, were all the bitter fruits of unsuccessful and inordinate speculation, by which it was attempted to replace commerce in its former prosperous condition. Having made enormous fortunes during the space of about a quarter of a century, either by the coasting trade or by other commercial enterprizes, the inhabitants of the United States persuaded themselves that this state of things would last for ever; and when the pacification of Europe restored commerce to its natural channels, the thirst after gain and the want of luxury had made too great progress, not to cloud the councils of prudence in the minds of the merchants.

Such is, even at this moment, the internal condition of that country. A general depression is

felt throughout the populous cities on the shores of the atlantic, as well as in the rising towns on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi. Every where is heard the complaint of the hardness of the times, the depreciation of property, and the low price of the produce of the soil.

But this state of suffering and depression cannot be otherwise than temporary, since all the natural means of prosperity which result from local circumstances, such as the extent of territory, the richness and variety of its productions, the advantages of geographical position, possessed by the United States in an eminent degree, remain untouched. When the effects of a sudden transition from war to peace shall have ceased to operate throughout all the countries of the civilized world; when commerce and general industry shall have found their natural level; the part to be acted by the United States will be sufficiently important to assure them a distinguished rank among commercial nations, and to afford every requisite encouragement to her domestic agriculture.

Geographical and statistical details of the United States, will complete the sketch which we have marked out for ourselves in this work.

SECOND SECTION.

CHAP. I.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY.

ACCORDING to the maps made by American geographers since the treaty of Washington of the 22d February, 1819, with Spain,* the territory of the United States, lies between $25^{\circ} 50''$ and $49^{\circ} 37''$ north latitude, and 10° east, and $48^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude, by the meridian of Washington.

The greatest extent of territory from north to south-east, is 1650 English miles; the greatest breadth from east to west, 2,700. Its superficies is computed to contain 2,379,350 square miles, or 1,522,784,000 acres.

Anterior to the treaty of Washington of 1809, with Spain, the superficies of the territory of

*This treaty, although shortly after ratified by the Senate and President of the United States, was not immediately approved by the Court of Madrid. Nevertheless, the Americans flatter themselves that it will ultimately be concluded; and it was under this belief and corresponding to its provisions, that the last edition of the general map of the United States by Melish, published in 1819, was drawn.

the United States, as stated by Blodget, was 1,280,000,000 acres; but the authority of this author has always been doubted, and his calculations are evidently much exaggerated. By Mr. Blodget's estimate, the quantity of cultivated lands in 1809, did not amount to more than 40,000,000 acres.

In 1783, the period of the recognition of the Independence of the United States, their territory, according to Mr. Hutchins, formerly geographical engineer to the Government, is represented to have contained but 640,000,000 acres, on a length of about 1250 English miles, and a breadth of 1040. By this same authority, 51,000,000 acres were covered by rivers, lakes, streams, &c.

The United States have therefore acquired triple the extent of their original territory, since their political Independence.

A considerable portion of these acquisitions was derived from the purchase of Louisiana, which the French Government, in consideration of fifteen millions of dollars, transferred to them. The limits of this province not having been ascertained at the date of the sale, the American

Government took advantage of the uncertainty, and have since pushed their boundaries westward as far as the Pacific Ocean. Previous to the session of the Floridas, on the 22d February, 1819, their pretensions to the mouth of the Columbia river, rested alone on that foundation.

It may also be asserted that a vast quantity of land has been extorted from the Indians, either by force or under the semblance of formal contracts. This unfortunate race, the legitimate owners of the whole soil, finding themselves closer and closer hemmed in by the Americans, either buried themselves in the depth of their forests, abandoning their possessions without an equivalent, or ceded them for a small fixed compensation, which frequently consisted merely of woollen clothing, fire arms, brandy, corn and some trifling pecuniary annuity.

Throughout the whole topography of the United States, you are struck by the breadth and depth of the rivers even when they are of no considerable length; hence the small elevation of the mountains, the loftiest of which is not higher than one thousand to twelve hundred feet above the level of the sea.

CHAP. II.

POPULATION.

In this immense territory there are but from nine to ten millions of inhabitants, exclusive of the tribes of Indian hunters, whose number could never be computed with any degree of exactness. We only know that their tribes form an inconsiderable part of the whole population of the United States; and that they rapidly diminish by the natural effects of their course of life.* According to the census of 1810, the

*The fourth census begun in 1820, but which was not completed until towards the end of the year 1821, states the entire population of the United States at 9,637,999 persons of different ages and complexions, distributed in the following proportions:

STATES.	INHABITANTS.
Maine - - -	298,335
New-Hampshire - -	244,161
Massachusetts - -	523,287
Rhode-Island - -	83,059
Connecticut - -	275,248
Vermont - - -	235,764
New-York - - -	1,372,812
New-Jersey - - -	277,575
Pennsylvania - -	1,049,451
Delaware - - -	72,729

total population of the United States, was calculated to be 7,239,903. We should not exaggerate in saying that, independently of the Indians, it amounts at this moment to 9,500,000 persons.

Maryland	-	-	-	407,350
Virginia	-	-	-	1,665,366
North Carolina	-	-	-	638,829
South Carolina	-	-	-	502,741
Georgia	-	-	-	340,980
Alabama	-	-	-	127,901
Mississippi	-	-	-	75,448
Louisiana	-	-	-	153,407
Tennessee	-	-	-	422,613
Kentucky	-	-	-	564,307
Ohio	-	-	-	510,434
Indiana	-	-	-	147,178
Illinois	-	-	-	55,211
Missouri	-	-	-	66,586
Michigan Territory	-	-	-	8,896
Arkansas	-	-	-	14,246
District of Columbia	-	-	-	33,039

Grand Total. - 9,637,999

Of this total number, blacks, actual or emancipated slaves, together with freeborn persons of colour, amount to two millions of persons.

In 1822, Slavery was sanctioned by the following states.

Maryland,
Virginia,
North Carolina,
South Carolina,
Georgia,
Alabama,
Mississippi,

Of all the statistics of the United States the enumeration of its inhabitants affords to the observer the most exact and at the same time the most curious subject of enquiry.

Since the achievement of the American Independence, the government has taken particular pains to obtain an accurate knowledge of the population of the country. The practice of taking a census, first established in 1800, is repeated every 10 years, and the result of each estimate, with all the details necessary to shed light upon this important department of American statistics, published by the order of Congress.

These official publications deserve the more confidence, as the central government of the United States have neither the means nor any

Louisiana,
Tennessee,
Kentucky,
Missouri,
The Floridas,
Territory of Arkansaw,
The District of Columbia.

It is to be still found in the State of Delaware, New Jersey, and even in Pennsylvania and New-York; but the laws of the latter States have fixed a period for its entire abolition.

In all the other States of the Union, slavery is prohibited by the laws.

interest in withholding from the public, a full knowledge of the particulars of their internal administration.

On their part, the citizens having no standing army to support, and scarcely any direct taxes to pay, have likewise no motive to induce them to elude the enquiries of public officers charged with the duty of enumerating the inhabitants of the country.

The population of the United States is composed of three distinct species of persons.

1st. The aborigines or Indian hunters scattered over the Western States. These, as we have before remarked, are inconsiderable in number and visibly diminish.

2nd. The whites of European origin, who form a great majority of the population of the United States.

3d. The blacks in all the variety of complexion of the African race.

It has already been stated, that according to the last census of 1810, the population of the United States amounted to 7,239,903 inhabitants. Of this grand total, the whites constituted about six

millions. The black slaves, mulattoes and free negroes, make together 1,377,810 persons.

This population equally distributed over the whole surface of the United States, would allow about five and three-fourths of inhabitants to each German square mile.

Ages will therefore elapse, before it will have acquired a density proportionate to the extent of the territory it is destined to occupy.

According to Dr. Seybert, the population is divided among the different States in the Union in the following ratio, agreeably to the Census of 1810.

State of New-York	- - -	$\frac{1}{7}$
— Virginia	- - -	$\frac{1}{7}$
— Pennsylvania	- - -	$\frac{1}{8}$
— Massachusetts	- - -	$\frac{1}{10}$
— North Carolina	- - -	$\frac{1}{13}$
— South Carolina	- - -	$\frac{1}{17}$
— Kentucky	- - -	$\frac{1}{17}$
— Maryland	- - -	$\frac{1}{18}$
— Georgia	- - -	$\frac{1}{24}$
— New-Jersey	- - -	$\frac{1}{33}$
— Ohio	- - -	$\frac{1}{31}$
— Connecticut	- - -	$\frac{1}{33}$
— Tennessee	- - -	$\frac{1}{33}$
— New Hampshire	- - -	$\frac{1}{33}$
— Vermont	- - -	$\frac{1}{33}$
— Rhode-Island	- - -	$\frac{1}{56}$
— Delaware	- - -	$\frac{1}{56}$

Of the total population of the United States.

By the same author we are informed, that the free whites, from 1790 to 1800, increased $36\frac{30}{100}$ p. c. from 1800 to 1810, $35\frac{22}{100}$ p. c.; and during twenty years, embracing these two periods, $85\frac{52}{100}$ p. c.

The number of free blacks and mulattoes increased from 1790 to 1800, $185\frac{7}{100}$ p. c.; from

1800 to 1810, $169\frac{22}{100}$ p. c.; and in twenty years, $313\frac{40}{100}$ p. c.

Doctor Seybert attributes this extraordinary augmentation of the last mentioned species of population, to the manumission of slaves by their masters, and the desertion of the former, who, when they once arrive in the northern states, are considered as freemen.

The slave population increased from 1790 to 1800, $24\frac{21}{100}$ p. c.; from 1800 to 1810, $35\frac{14}{100}$ p. c.; and during these twenty years, $79\frac{74}{100}$ p. c.

The whole of the free and slave population increased from 1790 to 1800, $35\frac{14}{100}$ p. c.; from 1800 to 1810, $36\frac{12}{100}$ p. c.; and during these twenty years $84\frac{40}{100}$ p. c.; (Seybert, page 24, 25.)

To extend further our researches on this head, would be an act of supererogation. The facts which have already been quoted, are sufficient to authorize the conclusion, that population in the United States multiplies rapidly, and that it will continue to do so in the same proportion, as long as there are fertile and vacant lands in abundance.

Whilst on this subject, it may not be useless to remark, that after the census of 1810, more than

half the population of the United States, consisted of persons above sixteen years of age; and before we take leave of it entirely, some general observations respecting the black population may not be irrevelant.

In every condition of civilized society, or where it approaches civilization, slavery, however ameliorated it may be by the operation of laws and customs, is an absolute evil; because it is in the nature of slavery, as in every other usurpation of right or abuse of power, to retard civilization by cramping the developement of the moral faculties with which the Supreme Being has endowed mankind. This evil assumes a character, dangerous in another way, in a country, where civil liberty is incessantly invoked—where every thing is done in its name and for its perpetuation.

Such is the case with the United States, where blacks either actually in slavery or emancipated from it, compose nearly the sixteenth part, if not more, of the whole population. Hence the inconvenience of slavery is the more serious, as nature herself has placed an eternal barrier between the two classes, which, in the United States, stand towards each other in the relation of master and

slave. The difference of colour and conformation of face, oppose insurmountable obstacles to their gradual emancipation. Nevertheless, it is going on rapidly in the United States. By the census of eighteen hundred and ten, the number of black and free persons of colour was one hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred and forty-six. Yet it is precisely this portion of the inhabitants that must be regarded as the most troublesome and dangerous. The reason is plain. Like their brethren in slavery, the free blacks and mulattoes are not only exiled from the society of the whites, but excluded from all participation of power, by virtue of common usage; for the law does not recognize any difference of colour, nor does it establish any distinction, except that of master and slave. Consequently it is very natural that the hostility existing between the free blacks and the whites, should be more inveterate than that of slaves towards their masters, the former being completely subjected to their controul; for the free blacks knowing the delights and advantages of liberty, and living in the midst of free men, must frequently experience those mortifying and humiliating sensations that disdain and contempt never fail to inspire.

The inconvenience of such a population is generally felt throughout the country. Nor is it pretended to be concealed, that in the event of an insurrection on the part of the slaves, they would look for leaders among the free blacks. With a view to obviate this danger, laws have been framed throughout all the United States, where slavery subsists. In Virginia, especially, a law is in force, by which all manumitted slaves are compelled to quit the Commonwealth.*

The same policy has prevailed in the establishment of the American Society for the colonization of free persons of colour. This society was formed about two years ago, and counts among its members the most distinguished citizens of the several States of the Union. Its principal object is to get rid gradually of this class of human beings, by colonizing them on the Coast of Africa near the English colony of

*Precautions, suggested by the same fears, have been carried even further in the State of Virginia. By legislative enactment it is forbidden, under heavy fines, and even corporal punishment, to teach black slaves to read or write.

Sierra Leone. In January 1820, the first expedition of the colonists left the ports of the United States for the place of their destination.*

From all the calculations made concerning the population of the United States, it appears that the blacks increase in an equal proportion with the whites. This single fact is enough to put beyond doubt the good treatment which the slaves in general receive, for man like all other organized beings, does not multiply in a state of constant suffering. Slaves being regarded in the United States in the light of chattels, enjoy no political rights. Nevertheless, by a kind of anomaly which cannot fail to astonish at the first glance, it is a fact, that these self same slaves delegate that political power to others of which they themselves are destitute. This enigma is solved when we recollect that at the formation of the Federal Constitution in 1787, it was

*The unsuccessful termination of this first attempt at colonization, under the auspices of the society, scarcely permits the hope of a more fortunate result in future. Besides, the enterprise is gigantic, and the means at the disposition of the society, extremely limited. It may be anticipated that the labours of this association, (so respectable in itself,) will turn out like the cask of the Danaides.

agreed between the southern and northern States, that three fifths of the slaves in the former should be considered as so many freemen, that is to say, that 500,000 negro slaves at this moment residents of Virginia, should be rated as 300,000 freemen.

In virtue of this compromise, the southern States which tolerated slavery, have to this time, exercised a preponderating influence in the conduct of national affairs. As a striking proof of this truth, of the five Presidents chosen since the adoption of the Constitution, four have been from Virginia.*

From similar considerations, the question arose whether slavery should be permitted to ex-

*THESE FIVE PRESIDENTS ARE,

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------|----------------|
| 1st. Genl. Washington, | - - | Virginia. |
| 2d. Mr. Adams, | - - - | Massachusetts. |
| 3d. Mr. Jefferson, | - - - | Virginia. |
| 4th. Mr. Madison, | - - - | Do. |
| 5th. Mr. Monroe, | - - - - | Do. |

It must be remarked that Mr. Adams was President only during four years, whilst the rest (with the exception of the officiating president,) were so during two terms fixed by the constitution, or eight years. There is no doubt but that Mr. Monroe, who has not yet finished his first term, will be re-elected for the second.

ist or prohibited in the new State of Missouri, so warmly debated during the present session of Congress, derived its importance. It has just been decided in favour of the toleration of slavery; and in this way is a predominating influence, for a considerable time to come, secured to the States which allow it.

The population of the United States is distributed among them in the following proportions:

Number of Inhabitants to each square mile.

Connecticut	60
Massachusetts	54
New-York	18
Pennsylvania	16
Virginia	14
Louisiana, less than,	2

(*Melish's description of America.*)*

These statements will show the disparity between the population of the United States and its territorial dimensions.

Another observation may be proper in this place: it is, that the black population, notwith-

* This distribution corresponds to the census of 1810.

standing its number, so far from contributing in any degree to the defence of the country, is rather a cause of weakness and alarm, than of strength, security, and tranquillity. (*See app. note C.*)

CHAPTER III.

THE AMERICAN CONFEDERATION.

THE American confederation consists of twenty-four states; which are,

- 1 New-Hampshire,
- 2 Maine,
- 3 Massachusetts,
- 4 Rhode Island,
- 5 Connecticut,
- 6 Vermont,
- 7 New-York,
- 8 Pennsylvania,
- 9 New-Jersey,
- 10 Delaware,
- 11 Maryland,
- 12 Virginia,
- 13 North Carolina,
- 14 South Carolina,
- 15 Georgia,
- 16 Kentucky,
- 17 Tennessee,
- 18 Ohio,

19 Louisiana,

20 Indiana,

21 Mississippi,

22 Illinois,

23 Alabama,

24 Missouri.

The states of Maine and Missouri were not admitted into the Union, until the session of Congress of 1821.

The following territories destined on a future day, to enlarge the Union; when their population shall have attained the requisite number fixed by the constitution of the United States* and shall be capable of supporting a local government, like the rest of the States, are to be considered as dependencies of the American confederation.

1st. The Arkansaw Territory.

2d. North Western Territory.

*It is established by the Federal Constitution as a general rule, that every territory belonging to the United States, shall have the right of admission into the Union as a state, when its population shall amount to sixty thousand persons. But this admission into the Union, may be granted by Congress by special favour, when the population of a territory has attained but half the number required by the law. (*App. Note C.*)

3d. Michigan Territory.

4th. District of Columbia.

The last enumerated, the District of Columbia, subjected to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, contains the City of Washington, the metropolis of the Union, and the seat of the Federal Government.

In all probability the number of the states forming the Union, will ere long, be augmented by the incorporation of East Florida, which will complete the southern frontier of the United States.

We should exceed the limits of this sketch, by giving a succinct description of the different states composing the American confederation. Independent sovereignties, so far as concerns their local interests, they are scarcely distinguishable from each other in the body politic which they united constitute.

To convey a general but an accurate idea of them, it is only necessary to state, that they are so many republics erected on the principles of a pure democracy. The differences observable in their respective forms of government exist only externally. They rest on a common foundation;

every where the numerical majority influences directly the choice of men and measures: every where the executive power, very limited in its attributes, is frequently renewed; every where in fine, the people possess rights reserved to themselves which their legislators dare not touch. These rights, having for their object individual liberty and security, are like the laws of Moses, placed on a tabernacle, which no profane hand dares assail. Viewed at a distance, this constellation of republics pleases the eye and satisfies the mind; the principles on which they are based, reflect honor upon humanity; the apparent effects of these popular forms of government, present the image of happiness and contentment; but as soon as you examine them more closely, you discover serious imperfections, and even anomalies. In watching over individual rights thus tenderly, justice is rendered incompetent to the suppression of many offences committed in the daily transactions of life. Without being very important in themselves, they nevertheless affect public order and tranquillity; a well organized police, a thing incompatible with American institutions, could easily, at least in a considera-

ble degree, have prevented their occurrence. In guarding against the abuse of executive power, they have made it incapable of fulfilling the obligations they have imposed upon it, whether it concerns the conduct of the foreign relations of the country, or those of the confederated states among themselves. In their anxiety to restrict the expenses of government, they have excluded from public employment men of education and talents; for it is certain, and all those who have sojourned any time in the United States will concur in the opinion, that a seat in Congress is little sought after by lawyers and physicians in possession of an extensive practice.*

This is not however the place to enter into a critical examination of popular governments. Like every other work of man, it bears the stamp of imperfection. But if, as the author believes, limited and constitutional monarchies better guarantee individual safety and public

* These observations should be taken in a limited sense, that is to say, as applicable to all democratical governments. To prevent any misunderstanding on this point, the author does not hesitate to declare it as his conviction, that a republican government alone suits the United States in their present situation, and is the only one which could subsist in that country.

tranquillity than democratical states; yet it is certain, at least, that the latter are the most economical form of government that can be adopted: and, whatever we may think of it in other respects, this must be admitted to be a very important advantage in a country which meteor like is just bursting from obscurity.

There prevails among the American people an almost universal opinion, and which will not be easily eradicated, that under the peculiar circumstances in which their country is placed, a popular government is the best adapted to them. They have known no other since its first colonization, and the history of the United States furnishes no single incident exhibiting the slightest tendency in the nation towards a change in the existing form of government—a form which recommends itself so powerfully to their favour by the smallness of the expenditure necessary for its maintenance. It is only when the Americans represent their institutions as a perfect creation of human wisdom, susceptible of application at all times and to all countries, that the extravagance of their republican notions becomes manifest. For after all, the in-

stitutions of which they seem so proud, having as yet stood the test of but forty years experience, cannot be regarded as having been submitted to a conclusive experiment. They have yet to pass through the ordeal of the immediate vicinity of a great power like that of Mexico, when this kingdom, after having entirely severed its political ties with Spain shall be permanently erected into an independent state, either in the form of a constitutional monarchy, or an indivisible republic. The first effect of this change of character on the United States, would be to create an absolute necessity for a considerable increase of their regular army, and thereby of the influence of the federal government.

Meanwhile we have already witnessed the experiments of federated republics, constructed on the model of the United States, among South American colonies of Spain. As yet, these experiments have produced but bitter fruits; and it is still very doubtful whether they will ever be productive of a better harvest, because the elements of a democratical government do not exist in those provinces, and are never created by constitutions framed under the pressure of sudden emergencies.

CHAP. IV.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

THE general interests of the American Union, are entrusted to a central government established in the city of Washington. It is proper to have an idea of its structure, because all the relations of the country with foreign nations, fall within the scope of its powers.

The federal government, as well as the particular state governments, is composed of three elementary parts, or, in other words, of three distinct powers: that is to say, the executive, legislative and judicial.

The executive power is confided to a President for the term of four years: although, according to the constitution, he may be indefinitely re-elected. Custom, which in free countries is frequently stronger than law, has determined that the President is re-eligible but once. On the other hand, if it should happen that he is not re-elected at the expiration of the first

term, it is considered as a political dishonour. This is the reason why the first term of each President is employed in securing re-election through the agency of the friends he makes, by flattering every popular sentiment which seems to have any consistency.

Such liability to change in the executive branch, does not allow the American government to follow any fixed policy, and even compels it to pursue courses dictated by dominant opinions, often contrariant to each other. This defect in the federal constitution is acknowledged by all enlightened Americans. They all agree that it would be better to prolong the term of service of the President, by abolishing re-election.*

The President is assisted in the administration of the affairs of the government by four Ministers or Secretaries of State.

The *Secretary of State*, properly speaking, who unites in this office the two departments of internal and foreign affairs.

The *Secretary of the Treasury*, or of finances. The customs, public lands, the post office, and

* Quere de hoc.—*Translator*.

all other sources of revenue fall within the province of this officer of the government.

The *Secretary at War*. To his department belong the army and all the military establishments of the Union; such as fortifications, arsenals, ammunition, &c. He likewise superintends the relations of the United States with the different tribes of Indians residing within their territory or in its neighbourhood.

The *Secretary of the Navy* is entrusted with all the details of the administration of the naval department, save those relating to the construction of vessels, which are confided to a distinct body, called the *Navy Board*, consisting of three naval officers, of acknowledged experience and ability in their profession.

These assistants of the President with the Attorney General, form the President's council. The Attorney General conducts all the litigations of the government.

The authority of the First Magistrate is very limited, and indeed it can scarcely be otherwise, in a pure Democracy. He cannot originate a law; his veto or right of rejection is restrained; that is to say, he is forced to assent to

a law which he may have rejected, after the legislature shall have re-considered it and passed it by a majority of two-thirds. He can even be tried for malversation, treason, or any capital offence. Notwithstanding the restrictions which a protecting spirit of liberty has thought proper to impose on the authority of the President, it is not possible to strip him of certain prerogatives which, in every age and in all countries, have been objects of competition for men ambitious of power and wealth.

The President, (in conjunction with the Senate,) is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States. He nominates to all offices under the general government; but as the right of nomination belongs to him exclusively, he can dispense many favours, and take all the credit to himself, since with a little address, he can always secure a majority in the Senate. The President has the right of pardon, except in cases of treason.

His salary is twenty-five thousand dollars, besides a furnished house belonging to the general government.

The salary of the Secretaries is six thousand dollars each.

The first public officer, after the President, is the Vice President of the United States. His whole duty is confined to presiding over the Senate. He has no political importance whatsoever; it might even be said, that this office scarcely belongs to the system or organization of the federal government. The salary of the Vice President is five thousand dollars.

After having thus reviewed the executive branch of the government, we will merely take a rapid glance at the two houses of Congress, which are the source of all legislation in respect to the general interests of the American confederation.

The Senate.

The first house of Congress is the Senate, which represents, or at least is reputed to represent, the aristocratical interests of the country, they being nothing more than the sovereignty of the different states of the Union, from which the members of the Senate are delegated. This

body participates at once in both the legislative and executive power; for the consent of the Senate is indispensable to all nominations made by the President, as well as to the ratification of all treaties concluded with foreign nations. The concurrence of the Senate is equally necessary to give the laws a character of authenticity without which they would not be valid.

Every state of the Union, without regard to its territorial dimensions or population, is represented in the Senate by two members elected for the term of six years. Their number amounted to forty-four, but it has since been extended to forty-eight by the admission into the Union of two new states, Maine and Missouri.

Senators as well as members of the House of Representatives, receive a per diem of eight dollars for the time during which the session of Congress lasts. They are allowed besides an indemnity for their travelling expenses at the rate of eight dollars for every twenty or English thirty miles, which they have to travel in repairing to, or returning from Congress.

Seats in the Senate of the United States are much sought after, because they are retained

longer than any other official station, and the incumbent is therefore less dependant on popular favour than in any other public employment.

One of the qualifications required by the constitution to be eligible as Senator, is, that he should be thirty years of age.

The House of Representatives.

The democratical or popular branch of the federal government, consists of the House of Representatives, the members of which are chosen for the term of two years, at the ratio of one member for thirty-five thousand free inhabitants. Their number is now one hundred and eighty. The qualifications of an elector, vary in the different states of the Union. In some it is sufficient to prove one year's residence, and the payment of municipal taxes; whilst in other states, as in Virginia, it is absolutely necessary that the voter should be a bona fide proprietor of a freehold.

In all the states, minority ceases at twenty-one years of age.

The number of Representatives would not be

so considerable, if at the time of the formation of the Federal Constitution, they had not been obliged, by way of a compromise, to grant to the slave holding states the right of counting three-fifths of their slaves as so many free citizens. Of this we have already spoken.

The actual representation is calculated according to the census of 1810. As the population has considerably increased since that period, it is probable, that, with a view of preventing too great an augmentation of the members of the House of Representatives, the proportion of individuals represented by a single delegate, will be raised from thirty-five to forty thousand persons.

The House of Representatives, holding the strings of the national purse, exerts a preponderating influence over the general affairs of the nation. Nevertheless it does not enjoy equal consideration with the Senate, the former being re-elected three times during the term fixed by the constitution for the renewal of the Senate.

The Judiciary.

The Judicial power of the federal government, is vested in a tribunal composed of seven judges, the eldest of whom fills the place of President, with the title of Chief Justice. This tribunal ultimately decides the litigations which arise between citizens of different states, between foreigners and American citizens, and finally between the general government of the United States and the particular state governments of the Union. But of all the duties of the Supreme Court, (for it is thus this court is denominated), the most important is to expound the constitution in all doubtful cases. This duty has devolved on the Supreme Court rather by usage than by any positive law^x.

It holds its sessions in the city of Washington at fixed periods. Besides, all the Judges of the Supreme Court, without exception, are bound to make circuits semi-annually through the districts respectively assigned to them, and to sit, in conjunction with local Judges on all cases,

x By the constitution which is the fundamental law of the United States.

which by their nature, belong to their jurisdiction.

The Judges of the Supreme Court cannot be removed; they have an annual salary allowed them of from four thousand five hundred to five thousand dollars.

A seat on the bench of this court is very much aspired to, because it is bestowed only on men of acknowledged merit, and because the court itself is held in high repute throughout the country.

The Army.

Among the general observations made in the commencement of this work, we remarked, that the nature and genius of this government was incompatible with the existence of a standing army; and indeed, that of the United States is scarcely sufficient for the occupation of the most important points in the defensive system of the country. It does not exceed at most ten thousand men of the various military corps. However disproportioned this army may be to the extent of country it is intended to protect, efforts have been made in Congress to reduce its

numbers. These have at length succeeded, and the American Army is now diminished to six thousand men of the several military departments. According to an opinion pretty generally entertained in the United States, and which certainly is not without foundation, the national militia, the numerical force of which is eight hundred thousand men, is more than adequate to the protection of the country from foreign invasion. This will be true, as long as local difficulties inherent in a territory so extensive and so thinly populated, oppose almost insurmountable impediments to the march of an hostile army.

There is much wanting to render this numerous militia, a well organized and disciplined force. Such a military result can scarcely be expected under a government democratically constituted. The organization of this truly national defence, is in its infancy. Yet, on the other hand, the deficiency is counterbalanced by the general topography of the country, as well as by the natural qualities of the North Americans, who, although bad soldiers in matters of discipline, are nevertheless very brave and inured to fatigues and privations.

The Army of the United States is well clothed and paid. It is however almost entirely destitute of skilful officers, especially in the artillery and engineer departments. There is but a single nursery of officers; that is, the Military Academy at West Point on the North river, in the state of New York, supported at the expense of the General Government. That institution has illy realized the hopes which were formed of its usefulness. Licentiousness and neglect of discipline among the Cadets, favoured, as it were, by the political atmosphere of this vast republic, have given rise to serious complaints. A motion was even made in Congress to suppress the establishment altogether; and it is indebted for its present existence solely to the patriotic efforts of some members of Congress, who were convinced that the preservation of this military school, notwithstanding its defects, was required by national honour and public utility. The expense of the War Department in all its branches (including arrearages) was in the year 1819, nine millions one hundred and ninety-five thousand nine hundred and sixty-one dollars and seventy-two cents.

CHAP. VI.

THE NAVY

UNTIL the last war of the United States with England, in 1815, this so efficient a branch of national defence, was altogether neglected. Extraordinary circumstances and painful experience were required to correct on this subject, the opinions of those who undertook to direct national affairs in 1800; the enlightened part of the nation always considered the navy as the true bulwark of the country.

It was only since this war, that the American government, awakened from the error into which it had fallen, took pains to repair it, by placing the navy of the United States on a respectable footing; one, corresponding to the services it had already rendered, as well as the lofty anticipation it had given rise to throughout the nation.

The naval forces of the United States, according to an official statement, (published in 1822,) is comprised in the following table.

Ships of the Line carrying 74 guns.

The Independence,
 Washington,
 Franklin,
 Columbus,
 Ohio,
 North Carolina,
 Delaware.

Frigates of the first class.

The Constitution,	}	each carrying 44 guns.
United States,		
La Guerriere,		
Java,		

Frigates of second class.

Congress,
 Constellation,
 Macedonian,
 Fulton, *steam frigate carrying 30 guns.*

Corvettes carrying 24 guns.

Hornet,
 Ontario,
 Erie,
 Peacock,
 Alert, *store ship.*

Brigs carrying 12 guns.

Enterprize,
Spark.

** Schooners.*

Nonsuch,	6 guns,
Alligator,	12 do.
Porpoise,	12 do.
Dolphin,	12 do.
Shark,	12 do.
Grampus,	12 do.
<i>Asp, receiving vessel,</i>	
Lady of the Lake,	1 do.

Armed Sloops.

Nos. 95, 8, 76, 158, 168,—each carrying
from 1 to 6 guns.

Naval architecture is carried in the United
States to a high degree of perfection, although
it is executed merely from practical knowledge.

The American sailor is not surpassed, in dexterity and courage, by any other in the world. We might say the same of the officers, but it cannot be disguised that the greater part of them are still ignorant of that theoretical science indispensable to their profession.

The partial successes of the American Navy, during the last war against Great Britain, seems to have intoxicated the whole nation. The English, not long since so formidable, are at this day frequently an object of derision, and even of contempt in the eyes of Americans, who have never travelled beyond the boundaries of their own country.

Of all the branches of public service, the navy being the most popular, meets with least opposition in Congress, when the annual budget is regulated.

The expenses of the naval department, during the year 1819, amounted to 3,827,640 $\frac{42}{100}$ dollars, comprising the appropriation of a million of dollars annually for four years, for the gradual increase of the navy. Congress having made no retrenchments in the sums demanded by the

government for this department, the expenses for the present year are about the same.

Should not unforeseen events derange the ordinary course of things, in a few years hence, the navy of the United States will amount to eleven ships of the line and thirty frigates, with a proportionate number of small vessels of war.

CHAP. VII.

FINANCES.

WE have before observed that the finances of the United States consist almost entirely of two items:

- 1st. The product of the Customs.
- 2d. The product of the sale of Public Lands, situated in the States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, &c.

We have already remarked that from the year 1815 to 1821, the revenue from the Customs, diminished by nearly twenty millions of dollars. It amounted in

1815, to	-	-	-	-	\$36,306,022	57
1819, to	-	-	-	-	\$17,116,702	00

Deficit, \$19,189,320 57

The revenue from the sale of Public Lands has always been increasing since the same periods. Nevertheless, the difficulties which the treasury encountered in the recovery of money due from purchasers of public lands, notwith-

standing the long credits usually given them, caused great arrearages to exist in this branch of the finances of the State. Two dollars per acre was the fixed price of public lands; one fourth payable immediately on delivery, and the residue in equal instalments, in the course of three years. If, at the expiration of that period, the whole purchase money had not been paid, the land reverted to the treasury without the reimbursement of the first payment. No one was allowed to purchase more than a certain quantity of these lands; the minimum was one hundred and sixty acres.

An act was recently passed by the two houses, by which the price of public lands was reduced from two dollars to one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, but payable in cash, immediately on the completion of the sale.

In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the year 1819, the sale of public lands amounted to \$2,858,556 $\frac{41}{100}$, but in the estimate of the revenue of the year 1821, the same item did not exceed two millions of dollars.

Public Debt.

It has been computed that up to the 1st of January, 1820, the public unredeemed debt amounted to \$88,885,203,⁰⁰/₁₀₀.

(Treasury Annual Report, December 13. 1814.)

According to the same official document, the comparative receipts and expenditures of the present year, showed a deficit of \$5,000,000.

After having passed in review, the different constituent parts of the Federal Government, it will not be superfluous to terminate this sketch by some general reflections.

The government of the United States, so apparently simple, being unincumbered by the administration of municipal concerns, is nevertheless very complicated in its movements and operations.

We have already seen that this Government, incapable of exerting any powers other than those specially delegated by the Federal Constitution, enjoys but a limited sovereignty. Wherever a measure, either of general or particular interest, such as the nomination to office, is in

agitation, the executive is always placed in the embarrassing predicament of being obliged to harmonize a multitude of contrariant interests and conciliate many opposing pretensions. In a word, it is called upon to satisfy as many local sovereignties as possible, or perhaps the whole United States, each one of which, in urging its right of participation in the conduct of general affairs, wishes to maintain the exclusive direction of its domestic concerns. This is what is meant in that country, by geographical and sectional nominations; that is to say, the distribution of offices at the disposition of the Government, among the candidates from the different states of the Union according to the relative political importance of the several states of the confederation. This difficulty seems inherent in a government at the same time democratical and federal. As long as the country preserves its internal tranquillity, the executive power of the central government, always placing itself at the head of the stronger party of each state, and using some little address, will, to a certain degree, succeed in satisfying all parties, and retain its preponderating influence.

Yet these embarrassing circumstances will be sooner or later felt, either in some great external exigency, or when the Union shall be exposed to those domestic commotions, from which no political society is long exempt; and to which federative republics are peculiarly liable.

The late war with England disclosed the weakness of the ties by which the different parts of the American confederation are united. Without the unexpected conclusion of an honourable peace, the Hartford Convention, composed of delegates from all the Eastern States, would in all likelihood, have ended in effecting their separation from the rest of the Union. The greater portion of the Americans, repel this idea indignantly: but since it was founded on a hypothesis which the events of the war did not realize, although very possible and even probable, it is useless to discuss so idle a question.

Notwithstanding the pains taken by the framers of the American constitution to define clearly the powers delegated to the General Government, and that which the states have respectively reserved, the line of demarcation

between them has always been a theme of long and violent controversy whenever a question of general interest is agitated. Thus during the last war, the government or the first magistrate of Massachusetts, refused to execute the order of the general government, to march the militia of that state into Canada.

The right assumed and carried into execution at different times by the federal government of establishing a national bank, was also the subject of long discussions in congress, and was contested by many states of the union.*

As a third and last example of the vagueness of the Federal Constitution, we would cite the virulent debates which occupied more than half the present session of congress, to determine whether or not that body had a right, under the constitution, to interdict slavery in the new state of Missouri.

To that uncertainty we must look for the feebleness manifested by the general government in the suppression of piratical armaments, publicly prepared in some of the maritime cities of

*This question has been finally decided by the supreme court in favour of the general government.

the union, but principally in Baltimore; and in arresting, in its commencement, the audacious and criminal expedition of some American adventurers against the province of Texas.

The federal government is too clearsighted not to foresee the grievous consequences which such violations of the laws of nations may some day bring upon the country. And, the government is equally aware, that all its efforts to restrain these irregularities will be ineffectual, because its orders, if indeed it have the right of giving any orders on this subject, would be eluded, perhaps badly executed or entirely disregarded.

A foreigner, known generally in Europe by the extent and variety of his acquirements, as well as by the sprightliness of his mind, Mr. Correa de Serra, Minister Plenipotentiary of Portugal near the United States, who resided a long time in that country, and who traversed it in every direction, maintains that the American government, to the prejudice of the individual state governments, tends strongly to consolidation.

He even goes so far as to say, that it contains already all the elements of a monarchy, and

only wants a head: he therefore called it the headless monarchy. Notwithstanding my respect for the intelligence of this savant, I am bold enough to entertain a contrary opinion. It appears to me, that in proportion as the territory of the United States is enlarged, and as the population, as well as the number of the confederated states, encreases, the general government will gradually lose its strength.

However this may be, there is one truth well established, and important to be kept in view, when political relations are held with the United States, that is, that its *sovereignty is incomplete*. It therefore happens in many cases, in which the laws of nations are interested, that the American government finds it impossible to act on terms of perfect reciprocity without transcending its powers.

This government has hitherto been unable to put an end to the illegal armaments which have been equipped, and are even now fitting out at Baltimore and other ports of the union, against the commerce and navigation of nations at peace with the United States. Yet it is true, that the

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disposition of the president and the rest of his cabinet, is decidedly opposed to these shameful infractions of neutral rights.

Whilst condemning such voluntary aggressions, the American government is incompetent to prevent them and especially to punish the guilty.

CHAP. VIII.

The political relations of the United States with Europe.

HITHERTO the United States have had little concern with European politics, except so far as their commerce and navigation were interested. In every other respect, this great federate republic is absolutely a stranger to the political combinations of Europe.

This state of things will last as long as the relative thinness of the population and the nature of their government prohibit every energetic effort beyond the limits of their country.

It is in the essence of popular governments, constituted as they are in our time, to be opposed to every expensive enterprise; for the greatest merit they possess in the eyes of the multitude, is the cheapness of the materials, if such an expression may be used, of which they are composed.

Considered as a political power, the United States must necessarily be classed among the maritime powers.

Their political sympathies and antipathies in regard to European nations, should be measured by the capableness of the latter to injure their commerce and navigation.

England enjoying an incontestible superiority at sea, is for that very reason the power which the United States love least and fear most.

Notwithstanding however, this species of political antipathy, it is certain, that the two countries are bound together by moral ties which no political jealousy can sever.

These moral ties derive their strength from the identity of origin, language, customs* and laws; in a word, from all circumstances on which are founded the moral and social existence of man.

*Shortly after the war of Independence a member of congress, whose name escapes me at this moment, proposed to abolish the use of the English language; declaring, that without this change, the emancipation of the United States, would never be complete. The project was undoubtedly absurd, since it was impracticable. But it is not the less true, (to employ a vulgar phrase) that the zealous republican laid his finger on the cause which will continue for a long time to give England a great moral influence over this country.

This truth is admirably illustrated in the memoirs of Talleyrand, on the commercial relations of the United States with England and France, read to the National Institute in the year 1803.

Hence it follows that the English, although they may find there a violent opposition to their politics, nevertheless have the satisfaction of seeing their manufactures preferred to those of other nations.

Of all the European powers, France can best calculate on a decided predilection on the part of the United States. It can scarcely be otherwise. Without taking into consideration the important services rendered by France to them in their war of independence, she has it in her power to aid them in their quarrels with England without being able, under any circumstances, to inflict the slightest real injury.

It was probably from this consideration, that the American government manifested so clearly a partiality for the French government, at the time the Berlin and Milan decrees occasioned so great losses to the American commerce; while the British orders in council were incessantly

the subject of the most vehement invectives and complaints, and terminated in bringing on the war of 1812.

The same reasons, although much less cogent, apply to the relations between Russia and the United States of America. It may be said, that the disposition of the government and the American nation in regard to Russia, ~~is~~ generally amicable. The name of the Emperor Alexander is revered in the United States. This is owing to the moderation with which the imperial government always treated the interests of America, at a time when they came into collision with those of all the other maritime powers of Europe. Russia, formidable as she is, inspires no fear in that country. They even reckon on her support in any difficulty in which they may be hereafter involved with any European powers, whose dispositions are less favourable to them.

SECTION THIRD.**CHAP. I.***THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.*

SOME general reflections on the administration of justice in the United States, or rather on the spirit of their jurisprudence, may perhaps prove interesting to Russian readers, they are addressed chiefly to these, for it would certainly be almost inexcusable presumption in the author, to attempt to instruct Americans on such a subject, among whom it is difficult to find a single individual who is not tolerably familiar, if not with the theory, at least with the course of justice in his country.

It is generally agreed, that an impartial administration of civil and criminal justice, is one of the principal foundations of all political societies of a permanent character. For the paramount, and it may be said, the only object of all political associations, is the security of person and property.

But if in strongly constituted, or to speak more clearly, in absolute monarchies, an impartial administration of justice, be one of the most powerful means of prosperity, in a representative government it is an indispensable condition; the very corner stone of the edifice. In absolute monarchies it efficiently corrects the defects of political laws, and in limited monarchies or republics, the equitable administration of the laws, as it were, takes precedence of political justice.*

* We are in fact, far from asserting that justice is best administered in republics. Such an opinion would be contradicted by facts; a badly regulated spirit of liberty, may frequently incline the balance of distributive justice, with as strong partiality as the hand of arbitrary power. This sometimes occurs even in the United States, where opulent persons have lost their cases because juries favoured the poorer class in preference to the rich. Such instances are undoubtedly very rare, but it is indisputable that a sentiment of inveterate jealousy of the rich, among the poorer class, has powerfully influenced in many states of the union, the municipal laws which regulate the relation of debtor and creditor. For some years past, the laws have always been favourable to the former, even when right appeared on the side of the latter. This is not the place to examine the effect of these laws on the welfare of the country. It will be sufficient to say, that they have sensibly affected its credit. The idea we would convey is intended to bear on the position, that in monarchies, principles of distributive justice have not the same influence on their political institutions, as in representa-

The Americans emphatically style their country, "*The land of the law*;" for among them the law, like a superior power, covers the whole country, protecting with its shield, or threatening with its sword, all indiscriminately, without recognizing any distinction between the Supreme Magistrate of the republic and the humblest citizen. Slaves are the only persons to whom its protection is denied. Yet important ameliorations of their condition are daily taking place in all the states where this unfortunate class exists. The new state of Missouri may boast of being the first to soften the hardship of slavery, by solemn legislative enactment. A clause of its constitution declares the murder of a slave punishable in the same manner, as one committed on a free person. This example has been imitated by South Carolina.

The Americans having inherited their language, their customs, their political opinions and

tive or democratical governments, such as are now established. The example of France under the reign of Napoleon, proves that a fair administration of justice is not always incompatible with unlimited political power. But on the other hand it may be remarked, that the preservation of just ideas of rational liberty since so happily realized under Louis XVIII, is owing to the judicial system of France.

even their primitive institutions from their English ancestors, necessarily adopted their system of jurisprudence. In fact, the two modes of administering justice are so much alike, that one seems to have been copied from the other. However, to develop this affinity, we should be obliged to enter into minute details, of which persons well versed in the subject alone are competent to give a satisfactory account, and which have no room within the limits of a simple sketch.

The dominant principles in the English and American systems of jurisprudence are:

1st. That all men are equal in the eye of the law; that is to say, that it is the same for all, without any distinction whatsoever, whether it protects or punishes.

2dly. That no man can be judged but by his peers; that is to say, his equals in society.

Here a sensible difference between the two judicial systems arises which it is not useless to notice, although it is only apparent, as it has no influence on the course of justice. The English constitution recognizes political inequalities; whilst the American constitutions, taken collectively, or individually, only recognize the sim-

ple difference of profession. An English peer possesses certain political rights in which other citizens do not participate. Yet the law is not the less the same for him, although the forms necessary for its application are different, so far as regards the composition of the jury.

In America political inequalities have no existence; so that the law and the forms of its application are the same for all, in all cases.

The body of civil and criminal law is composed of the following elements.

1st. *The common law** such as it is in England, notwithstanding the modifications flowing

*Properly speaking, the common law is nothing more than a collection of judicial decisions in isolated cases. It is consulted in all cases, not provided for by the *statute* or written law. This is an abyss of civil legislation, but the evil is in some measure remedied by the discretion of the judges. The common law is venerated in England because the English believe it to be favourable to liberty. In the United States, where liberty has gained every thing and has nothing to fear, public opinions lean toward written civil codes. But they perhaps, scarcely dream that the enterprise would be far from easy in so extensive and diversified a country. Besides, however great might be the wisdom and perspicacity of the compilers of such codes, it would be impossible to foresee the cases that might arise, and provide for the interpretations which the acuteness of lawyers would place on the meaning of the law. In this way, commentaries and readings would enlarge the code to such a de-

from the nature of a government which admits of no distinction in the orders of society, nor of privileged classes which were always as unknown to these colonies as the right of primogeniture. This last right, it is true, existed in Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina previous to their emancipation, but was abolished soon after the revolution.

2d. Acts of the British Parliament antecedent to the period of the American Independence. The local legislatures of the United States possessed, nevertheless, the power of modifying the acts or statutes of the British Parliament as well as the common law, in every case which did not involve internal commerce or the essential attributes of sovereignty. The infringement of this

gree, that it would participate in the inconvenience of the common law.

The *statute* or written law consists of legislative acts. We have already seen that in the United States, the *statute* law is composed of acts of the English Parliament, passed antecedent to the revolution, of acts of congress, and lastly of legislative acts of the different states forming the confederation. Consequently the statute law of the United States is derived from two sources, one the federal legislation, the other the same legislative power reserved to themselves respectively by the several states of the union. It is important not to lose sight of these facts.

right by the British Parliament contributed materially to the separation of the English colonies from the mother country.

3d. Acts of the American congress and of the individual legislatures of the different states. These last mentioned are only obligatory as law, within the circle of the respective jurisdiction of the state legislatures.

4th. The civil and criminal codes of particular states in which they have been compiled. In many states of the union there exists criminal codes made on the spot. But it is only in Louisiana, that we find a body of laws embracing all the social relations of the citizens among themselves.

Their code of laws is nothing but the civil code of Napoleon adapted to their local circumstances. This work as important as it is useful, was executed by two jurisconsults of that country; Mr. Moreau Lestel and Mr. James Brown, now a senator in the congress of the United States, from Louisiana.

The organization of the judicial tribunals of the United States, bears a great affinity to that of the courts of England. Yet marked differences

may be seen between them in some of the states of the union; and these differences without being fundamental, modify the cause of justice in civil litigations.

In many states, as in New-York, New-Jersey and Virginia, there is a court of chancery invested with jurisdiction similar to that of the chancery court in England. In other states, this court assumes another form, or the ordinary courts are clothed with a jurisdiction usually belonging to a court of chancery.

It would be superfluous to enter into a detailed description of the organization of the various courts in the different states of the American confederation. The design in which it is conceived is common to all; which is, to secure to every man prompt and impartial justice. The latter object is unquestionably accomplished; but it would be important to abridge the delays of litigation; for, in regard to promptitude, it is very doubtful whether they have been successful in the United States. Means to elude the views of legislators and protract the pendency of suits beyond a reasonable term, have always been found by the ingenuity of lawyers. This particularly

happens when the plaintiff in a cause is a foreigner, seeking redress from an Insurance Company.

In every case, either civil or criminal, there are but two stages or degrees of judicial enquiry. A court of original jurisdiction, of which there is one at least in each county, decides in the first instance. Should there be an appeal, the judgment is reviewed by the Supreme Court, of which there is one in each state. The jurisdiction of this tribunal in all its litigations between citizens of the same state, corresponds to that of the Court of King's Bench in England; and the judges, during the recess, also perform a circuit in the district assigned to them respectively, with this difference, that in America the eldest or Chief Judge of the Supreme Court is not exempted from this duty, as is the case with the presiding judge of the King's Bench in England.

In every suit which, under the provisions of the constitution of the Federal Government, is definitively adjudicated by the Supreme Court of the United States, there are properly three stages of judicial investigation. A local court of origin-

al jurisdiction* first tries the cause and passes judgment. An appeal, if one be taken, is then carried before a *Circuit Court*.† A further appeal may be then had to the Supreme Court of the United States, which finally adjudges the cause.‡

According to these external forms observed in the proceedings of all the tribunals of the country, with the exception of the Court of Chancery or Equity, and the Supreme Courts which pass sentence without the intervention of a jury, the dispensation of the law, independently of the necessary formality of opening every judicial proceeding, whether civil or criminal, is performed in the following manner :

* Over this court, commonly called the *Circuit Court of the United States*, one of the Judges of the District Court presides, associated with one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. The members of this last tribunal, without even the exception of the Chief Justice, have each their district assigned to them respectively, which they visit annually at fixed periods.

† See note in Appendix.

‡ This Court likewise takes cognizance of all cases arising from the violation of the laws of the United States, strictly speaking, or Acts of Congress.

Lawyers or advocates, on each side, state the case, argue upon the law, produce their authorities, and examine the witnesses.

One of the judges then gives the jury a summary of the pleadings on both sides. In some states they confine themselves to explaining to the jury the law that should govern their decision.

The jurors then retire to deliberate among themselves on what verdict they shall find, which verdict, when once found, is announced to the judge by one of their own body, chosen by the court for that purpose, as the most distinguished of them by his character and intelligence.

Finally the judge applies the law and the suit is determined.

All these different formalities are performed publicly. The court room is open to every one without distinction. This publicity in judicial proceedings, has perhaps a greater influence upon the impartial distribution of justice, than the institution of a jury trial.

In all civil and criminal cases, the jury decides on both the law and the fact. In criminal prosecutions, the power of the jury has no limits, but

Not so, for a jury can decide upon the facts, apply the law as pronounced by the judge, the facts found by them —

it is otherwise in civil cases. On a question of law, the opinion of the judge has usually great weight with the jury; and when their verdict is contrary to the law, such as it has been expounded by the judge, he sets it aside and recommends to them to reconsider the case. Should the jury prove obstinate in their opposition, the judge can order a new trial of the cause.

It is then evident, that the agency of a jury in civil cases is less real than apparent, since in a majority of them they are directed by the superior knowledge and experience of the judges. In fact, it is scarcely possible that persons, absolutely strangers to a profound knowledge of the civil law, should be competent to administer it equitably in all cases, (many of which are complicated,) arising from disputes between the inhabitants of a free and civilized country.

We should not omit to mention the obligation of serving in turn as a juror, from which no American citizen is exempt, under the penalty of a heavy fine. This often becomes a species of burthensome tax on the time of the industrious part of the community.

Criminal legislation having for its object to shield, against the assaults of violence and malice, all that is most valuable to man, his life and reputation, has invested its proceedings with every precaution that human foresight could suggest, to guard the accused against any precipitancy in the organs of the law, and to afford him at the same time the most unbounded means of self-justification. This assuredly is the beautiful feature of American jurisprudence, a jurisprudence which in other respects resembles in its details the mode of criminal procedure practised in England.

The prevailing principle of the system seems to establish above all other considerations, that it is better for society that ten criminals should escape the rigour of the laws which they may have violated, than that one innocent person should be condemned to punishment. Perhaps some doubts might justly be entertained of this maxim, repeated to satiety by modern philanthropy. We might possibly be nearer to the truth in maintaining the converse proposition; for, the sum of evil resulting to society in the two cases is evidently greater in the first than in the second. Meanwhile we cannot but applaud a

system of criminal jurisprudence, which evinces so much solicitude to prevent judicial error.

We should place at the head of the safeguards of personal security, the justly celebrated law of *habeas corpus*. This law prevents arbitrary and protracted imprisonment, and is exactly the same in the United States as in England.

False accusations and illegal prosecutions are obviated by the *institution of the Grand Jury*, which the Americans regard as the palladium of their liberty. The Grand Jury is never composed of less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-three individuals, although twenty-four are usually summoned. They are chosen by lot, at the opening of each session of the criminal court, from among active and respectable citizens. The Grand Jury examines the witnesses against accused persons, and decides, by a majority of votes, whether there is a sufficient reason for putting the accused on trial. This examination is made with closed doors, and cannot therefore prejudice the accused in the formal trial which he is about to undergo.

An indictment is not found until after the Grand Jury has had sufficient proof before them

against him, and it is then only that he can be formally tried. In the contrary case, he is dismissed from all judicial prosecution.

The Grand Jury can also take cognizance of some general matters of a local character, such as the state of the prisons, the roads, and of particular cases brought before them. The result of this enquiry is reported to a competent tribunal, and, in this way, abuses are corrected.

It appears that the institution of the Grand Jury exists in all the United States, and that it is every where composed of intelligent and respectable citizens, who are considered as the most efficient guardians of the public safety.

The Petit Jury, composed of twelve individuals, chosen on the same principle that governs the selection of the Grand Jury, acting more directly in the distribution of both civil and criminal justice, secures impartiality by a species of equality and reciprocal sympathy which this institution is thought to establish between the judges and the person to be judged.

We have already seen, that in all civil and criminal cases, excepting those which are carried before the courts of chancery or the supreme

courts which ultimately decide, the Petit Jury exercises the greatest power. It might be said that it contains the very essence of judicial power; yet we have likewise observed, that in civil suits the course of the jury is greatly influenced and even controled by the judge.

(Such is not the case in criminal prosecutions.)

The duty of the judge is restricted to making a summary statement of the case: the jury, embracing in their deliberations the law as well as the facts, pronounces peremptorily and without appeal on the part of the judge, on the criminality of the accused, *guilty or not guilty*. In the first instance, the prisoner suffers the penalty imposed by the law, which is announced to him by the judge, provided, before the expiration of a certain period of time, the executive power, invested with the right of pardoning, does not exercise its prerogative in favor of the criminal, either to remit or commute the punishment.

But when, by the verdict of the jury, the accused person is declared not guilty, he is immediately set at liberty, without liability to a renewal of the prosecution; this conforms to one of the fundamental principles of English juris-

prudence, that no man can be twice tried for the same offence. In both civil and criminal cases, the verdict of the jury to be valid must be unanimous. When, in the opinion of the jury, the crime, although sufficiently established, is accompanied by circumstances of extenuation, then still declaring him guilty, they recommend him to the mercy of the executive; and such recommendation is always taken into consideration.

Independently of the publicity of the proceedings and the intervention of a jury, these two powerful safeguards of innocence, the slightest errors in the judicial forms, however insignificant they may be in themselves, according to the spirit of American jurisprudence, operate in its favor. Thus a single fault of orthography or misnomer in the indictment, is sufficient to arrest instantly the trial of a criminal cause.

In fact, by the criminal laws and forms of procedure in use in the United States, an accused person is so abundantly fortified with means of defence, that he has absolutely nothing to apprehend from the malice of his accusers, nor from the precipitancy of his judges. We should

be even tempted to believe, that in certain cases, the law is too favourable to the accused, when we see how difficult it is in the United States to bring an individual, charged with the most atrocious crimes which have been perfectly proven, to merited punishment. This difficulty amounts to an actual impossibility, when, by accident, as frequently happens in Pennsylvania, the jury is composed of quakers.

We have yet to speak of the independence of the judges, which is also considered as one of the principal requisites for an impartial administration of justice.

The opinion, that expounders of the law, to discharge justly and with dignity their important functions, should be placed in absolute independence of all political power, is pretty general and uniform in the United States.

In all tribunals, emanating from the authority of the federal government, the judges are irremovable, or what amounts to the same thing, hold their place during good behaviour. They can only be deposed by a formal accusation (impeachment) made by the house of repre-

sentatives before the senate, and sustained by two thirds of the members of that body.

These judges receive a liberal pecuniary compensation, sufficient to procure an easy and honourable livelihood.

The same advantages are granted to judges who preside over tribunals created by the local authorities of the United States. Nevertheless the jealous spirit of popular liberty of Rhode Island and Vermont, refused to invest their judges with that independence which alone can render them, at the same time, impartial and respectable. They are there badly paid, and hold their office but for one year.

A more striking defect in this respect, exists in the judicary system of the state of New York. It is declared by the constitution of that state, that every judge becomes incapable of fulfilling his official functions, after sixty years of age. In England as in other countries, the contrary opinion prevails, that a judge of sixty years of age, is in the full vigour of his usefulness. But the legislators of the state of New York think differently, without suspecting that they thereby

calumniate the intellectual faculties of their countrymen.

It may be said in general, that judges are held in great and merited consideration in the United States.

We could easily produce a list of judges, as eminent by their virtues as by their talents, taken indifferently from all the states of the union. But since it is impossible to do justice to each, it is better to omit them all.

The profession of the law, is also held in high estimation, and excites a preponderating influence in the conduct of public affairs. One single fact will serve to remove all doubt on the subject. Of the forty-eight members now composing the senate of the United States, thirty-six are lawyers by profession.

The same considerations of prudence, which did not permit the author to speak of the judges individually, prohibit the mention of the most distinguished lawyers of the country; and this involuntary silence is preserved the more reluctantly, as he is happy enough to count among them some tried friends.

CHAP. II.

PENITENTIARIES.

A SKETCH of this branch of the criminal jurisprudence of the United States of America, will complete what we proposed to say concerning the penal legislation of that country. The great popularity of the Penitentiary system among enlightened Americans, and the brilliant results anticipated from it in the beginning of the experiment, but which experience has so badly justified, have induced the author to devote a separate article to the subject.

The philanthropic sentiments prevailing in Europe, and of which the writings of Beccaria and Howard were but the first expression, found public opinion in the United States not only willing to receive them, but to make an experiment of every suggestion which these celebrated de-

fenders of suffering humanity had advanced, either for the improvement of criminal jurisprudence, or for the reform of prisons.

This spirit of benevolence soon manifested itself in the United States, by innumerable publications, recommending, in pathetic terms, the abolition of capital punishment, except in cases of extraordinary atrocity.

In all, it was assumed as an admitted principle, and consequently indisputable, that the chief tendency of a law ought to be to prevent and not to punish crime. To this general proposition, the evidence of the correctness of which is perhaps not sufficiently demonstrated, the scruples of conscience of some religious sects, and more especially the quakers, soon added another, more general and important in its character. It aimed at contesting the right of capital punishment altogether. To the Creator alone, said they, does it belong to dispose of the life of man, as his proper work.

Such sentiments meeting with scarcely any opposition, the punishment of death, except in cases of premeditated murder, was abolished successively in all the states of the union.

It is doubtful, whether this triumph of philanthropy served to diminish the number of crimes superinducing capital punishment. However, it is certain that the number of prisoners, without reference to their particular crimes, always increased, notwithstanding the mildness of their criminal laws, and the deep sentiment of humanity with which they are administered in the American courts of justice.

Without pausing here to examine the causes of this moral phenomenon, causes difficult to designate with precision, and which it is better to leave to the research of American philanthropists, the author cannot refrain from apprising the reader, that nothing is further from his mind than the idea of attributing the augmentation of crimes in the United States, to the greater leniency of their criminal jurisprudence. In his opinion, this melancholy result is owing, in a great measure, to the extreme facility with which either pardon or commutation of punishment is obtained; a facility which deprives penal laws of that salutary terror, without which, they are no better than a dead letter.

The increase of crime, and consequently the number of persons confined in the public prisons, ultimately attracted attention throughout the United States. They imagined they had detected the cause in the faulty organization of the internal police of their public prisons, and have ever since been engaged in endeavouring to remedy the defect.

Such was the origin of Penitentiaries in America, in 1790. The state of Pennsylvania was the first to introduce them, and the rest of the states of the union soon followed her example. The quakers exerted their activity and influence with equal zeal and success, to place these establishments on their present footing. According to this new plan, Penitentiaries were to have a double object—to punish crime and reform the criminal. On one hand, they sought to rid society, without effecting a great diminution in the labour required by its wants, of every individual who had transgressed the civil or criminal law. On the other, they wished the criminals, condemned to a longer or shorter confinement in proportion to the degree of their offences, in expiating them by the temporary loss of their

liberty, to contribute, by the product of their labour, both to the reimbursement of the expenses of their imprisonment and the accumulation of the means of an honest livelihood, to be given them at the expiration of the term of their punishment.

The humanity of these reformers of prisons, had scrupulously provided for all the real wants of the prisoners with a profusion of charity, that has since proved one cause of the ill success of this philanthropic enterprize: for it is notorious, that the daily support of convicts in the principal penitentiaries of the United States, always was, and is to this moment, superior to that which the greater part of the honest mechanics of the country can procure by their labour.

Solitary confinement, as the last degree of severity, and which, in many cases, was to supersede capital punishment, was at different periods inflicted on prisoners whose crimes were not of a very heinous description, but whose conduct was indocile and turbulent.

By these united expedients, they flattered themselves that the double end of these new kind of prisons could be accomplished; that is to

say—the punishment of crime, and by the reform of the criminal, the prevention of its recurrence.

A third advantage promised by this system, was its economy. In fact, the idea of having prisons, the expenses of which would be defrayed by the labour of the prisoners themselves, and without cost to the state, was the more seducing as it was connected with hopes of a higher kind of usefulness, which had public morality for its object. The first effects of this system of imprisonment appeared to confirm the hypotheses on which it was founded. Penitentiaries assumed the appearance of spacious work-shops, from which issued every kind of workmanship, of the most perfect execution.

But when, at the end of some years, they beheld the number of prisoners augment, and the expenses of these establishments more and more exceed the receipts—when they discovered among the prisoners, persons who had before undergone the same punishment, a suspicion arose that there was some error in the course until then pursued in regard to them.

Without accumulating facts in support of this assertion, we will confine ourselves to extracts from the official report of the inspectors of the penitentiary in Philadelphia, for the year 1819. Towards the end of that year, it contained four hundred and sixteen prisoners. Of this number, seventy-three had been twice imprisoned in that institution; twenty-five three times, seven four times, and two five times. The same result occurred in other States which had adopted the penal system of Pennsylvania.

The insurrection of the prisoners in the different penitentiaries, but more especially the insurrection of 1820 in Pennsylvania, dissipated the illusion of the public. It is now agreed in the United States, that the experiment has completely failed, and that important modifications are indispensably necessary in the organization of penitentiaries.

Among the causes which have brought about this sad result, the following are generally admitted.

1st. The want of a proper classification of the prisoners.

Hundreds of prisoners, shut up in the same prison, although for crimes infinitely various in their character and enormity, are employed in different species of labour, but are crowded promiscuously in the same place. At night thirty or forty sleep in one room.

In consequence of such an arrangement, the discipline of penitentiaries, far from awakening in the minds of the convicts a disposition to repent, on the contrary confirms them in their vicious habits. Hardened malefactors teach the novices crime, and in this way a prison, intended to reform its tenants, becomes by their intercourse, a Lancastrian school for mutual instructions in vice.

It is however just to remark, that this want of classification of the criminals is almost irremediable, unless you consent to allow a very large space for this institution and consequently very expensive dimensions to the buildings.

addly. The facility with which criminals condemned to a long confinement, obtain either the remission or commutation of their punishment.

That this cause really prevails, and that it is pernicious in its influence on public morals, is so

notorious and well established a fact, that no enlightened American would surely deny its existence.

Among the political rights reserved by the several States of the union to themselves, is that of pardoning. This beautiful prerogative of executive power is exercised, not only by the president of the United States, but also by twenty-four governors or chief magistrates, each within the limits of the territory of his own state. And it will not appear astonishing that they grant it with so much readiness, when it is known, that there are some governors, like the governor of Ohio, whose whole executive authority is comprised in the power of pardoning.

3d. The luxury of charity, if we may be allowed the expression, with which they usually provide for the subsistence of prisoners.

This fact is likewise beyond all contradiction; and the author of this article has had, upon more than one occasion, an opportunity of convincing himself of it, by the testimony of his own eyes. Such mistaken philanthropy essentially contributes to divest punishment of its efficacious terrors.

However, they begin to retrench this prodigality, and to discover, that a prison ought never to be a house of comfort, but of affliction and penitence, and that, in regard to the prisoner, justice should never furnish him with superfluities, but be contented with simply sparing him useless privations.

SECTION FOURTH.

STATE OF SOCIETY.

· In order to form an idea of the present state of society in the United States, it is necessary to premise that it is the result of civilization, as ancient as that of England, but applied to a country comparatively very new. The effect must consequently be very different from that which we behold in the old states of Europe, where, to use such a phrase, civilization has followed, and not as in the United States, preceded the cultivation of the soil. The history of the first colonization of North America is well known. We are apprised that the founders of the colony at New Plymouth, in Massachusetts, which was commenced in the beginning of the seventeenth century, were men who had left their own country to evade the religious and political

persecution to which they were exposed in England. These, in point of civilization, were on a level with society as it existed at that period in Europe. The same may be said of the followers of William Penn, who peacefully settled themselves in Pennsylvania, about the year 1682. And, although the founders of a colony on the shores of Virginia, established a few years before those of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Maryland, were, in their origin, an assemblage of adventurers eager to acquire riches, rather than an association of peaceful and industrious persons, it is not the less true, that they enjoyed a degree of civilization proportionate to the respective trades and professions which they followed in their native land; and in a degree already sufficient to render them much superior to the aboriginal inhabitants of this vast continent. It is assuredly to civilization, that we must attribute, not only the vigorous resistance which they made against the attacks of the natives of the soil, who were much more numerous and warlike than the colonists themselves; but also their rapid and constant progress in the improve-

ment of their mode of life, the final result of which has been the political existence of the United States of America.

"Knowledge," says Bacon, "is power." This maxim has never perhaps been better demonstrated than by the history of the colonization of North America; an enterprise the more remarkable, as it is owing to the courage and efforts of a few individuals, and not, like the conquest of Mexico and Peru, to the immense resources of the most powerful monarchy of its time.

In proportion as the colonists, opposed in the commencement by local difficulties, acquired consistency, their relations with England became more and more important. The identity of manners, and above all, of language, enabled them to follow, at a certain distance, the mother country in her career of civilization. This double identity at least prevented them from relapsing into ignorance. The presses and workshops of England, laboured alike for the colonies and the inhabitants of the three kingdoms. The fruits of all discoveries in the sciences, arts and trades, were immediately transmitted to the col-

onists of North America. It cannot be denied but that the intimacy of these relations, had an important agency in preventing the formation of a national character; but it is nevertheless certain, that this very intimacy of relation and interest, contributed powerfully to develop the natural resources of the country, and accelerate the epoch of its political emancipation.

These reflections appeared necessary to elucidate the principal fact asserted, *that the country is new, but its civilization is old*; and as it will soon be seen, they were not irrelevant to the subject of which we are about to treat.

By the state of society, is commonly understood, the state of manners, customs, intelligence and mode of life of the inhabitants of a country; or in other words, the aggregate of their physical and moral existence.

We have already stated, that the first European colonists, who sought an asylum on the shores of North America, belonged to a civilized class of men. Their settlements, so feeble in their origin, were not slow in improvement. After having repelled the attacks of the Indians, who, being the primitive possessors of the soil

could not behold without alarm, the appearance of a foreign race in their neighbourhood, the colonists gradually extended a domain, which they had either wrested from the natives by main force, or as in the negotiations between them and William Penn, obtained by amicable arrangement.

The limits of the colonies advancing further and further towards the west, in proportion as the Indians retired, at length reached the base of the Alleghany mountains. This barrier was soon surmounted, and the settlements following closely the foot steps of the retreating Indians, attained the banks of the Mississippi: and in these later times, after crossing this great river, they have travelled on to the banks of the Missouri, and even to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

So rapid an extension of territory over a country, until then a stranger to every species of culture, necessarily wrought a considerable change in the manners of the colonists as well as in their mode of life. Those among them who preferred remaining in maritime cities, which they saw flourishing after having witnessed their founda-

tion, retained the longest their primitive traits of character. The reason is simple; they lived with persons, the greater part of whom, came from the same country, and who professed the same political and religious opinions. Migration alone could operate on their manners but a slight change, which for a long time, must necessarily have been imperceptible, because it could only arise from the natural effects of a new climate, and an unlimited democratical government, substituted for the dominion of a constitutional monarchy. Other colonists, whom the spirit of adventure and the love of gain had urged into the interior of the country, suddenly found themselves exposed to all the inconveniences of a solitary life in the midst of a wilderness. Deprived of immediate neighbourhood, they passed the first years of their removal in painful and unwholesome labour, at one time felling trees for the construction of dwellings, at another breaking the unfurrowed soil, the fertility of which was counterbalanced by febrile exhalations, peculiar to new lands, impregnated with decomposed vegetable matter. Whole months passed away without these inhabitants of the

forests seeing other human beings than their families. Such isolation naturally hardened their character, and imparted to their manners something of the savage nature by which they were surrounded. When at length population, allured by the richness of the soil increased around them, and gave them neighbours, equally deteriorated in regard to civilization; when political and civil laws began to operate in the midst of these growing societies, great difficulties were encountered in their execution, from men accustomed to enjoy an unbounded independence, and to give full sway to their passions. Roughness of manner became the greater among these half civilized and half savage men, as the religious sentiments they might have carried with them into the forest, gradually, for want of nourishment, lost all empire over them; for it is obvious, that a very considerable time must have elapsed, before the population of these new countries could have arrived at that degree of denseness in which the want of any kind of worship whatsoever is felt. This observation is especially applicable to a country, the fundamental laws of which do not

allow any national religion, and experience has proved, that among the states composing the American union, it is in those of more recent existence, that the elections are most tumultuous, party spirit most virulent, and individual contests most bloody.

To find the class of men whom we have just pourtrayed, we must unquestionably traverse the United States in its whole breadth from east to west, and reach the borders of the Missouri and Arkansaw. Every where civilization is seen rapidly advancing towards perfection. But it is not less true, that to this hour, there are in some parts of the country, men who are savage in their manners and mode of life, and, at the same time, civilized in regard to industry and a knowledge of the mechanic arts. These, who have been ingeniously denominated *pioneers of civilization*, are the origin of the population of the numerous states on the borders of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Indiana and the Illinois rivers.

To a traveller, however little accustomed to observe what is passing around him, the interior of the United States offers undeniably a most interesting spectacle. On leaving the maritime

cities, where all the conveniences of life have been carried to a high degree of refinement, he sees them insensibly diminish, and civilization grow fainter and fainter, in proportion as he advances westward.

After having left splendid and prosperous cities, and travelled for some time, he arrives at regions where the footsteps of the first civilized settlers (if I may be allowed the expression) are yet imprinted on the soil. At length he finds himself in the depths of forests, until then visited only by Indian hunters, and among whom, at long intervals of space, he here and there recognizes colonists, but lately arrived with their families, who have no other dwellings than their wagons, and scarcely any other food than the salt provisions they brought with them.— Thus, in travelling through the interior of the United States, in the course of a few weeks, you may ascend and descend the scale of civilization.

The English character may be distinctly seen in all the customs of the inhabitants of that country. The construction of their houses, their dress, food, and even amusements are the same as in England, excepting those stronger or weaker shades of difference, which local circumstan-

ces and the nature of a government purely democratical, necessarily impress on the character and habits of the North Americans. To these natural affinities, we may add the identity of language, the influence of which is more felt than that of any other; and we may then easily understand, how the moral sympathies prevail over the political antipathies which exist, in a signal degree, between England and the United States. England is not generally beloved by the people of the United States; yet the English are better received than any other foreigners, especially when they bring with them the air and manner which characterize a good education. Among the shades of difference between the English and American manners, the first which strikes the eye is a comparative want of cleanliness in the latter. This deficiency arises from various local causes.

In the northern, middle and western states, where the influence of slavery is but faintly visible, the dearness of every species of labour affecting all domestic services, renders them sometimes insufficient for the maintainance of great cleanliness in the interior of the houses.

Wherever the law sanctions or even tolerates slavery, uncleanness is in some measure incurable, because it is the inevitable result of that social disease. What traveller in passing through the American colonies, has not felt surprised at the difference, in point of cleanliness, between those states in which slavery exists, and those in which it is abolished. It might be said that in the former, the blacks who execute all domestic services, communicate their colour to every thing they touch.

However, it is proper to observe, that the preceding remarks apply particularly to inns, taverns and other public places which are most apt to attract the notice of a traveller. For the houses of the better classes of society, not only in the maritime cities, but also in the interior of the country, exhibit a degree of cleanliness which scarcely leaves any thing to be desired.

In the eastern and in some parts of the middle states, even the labouring classes are so remarkable for their cleanliness, that we should seek in vain for the same degree in more than one country of Europe.

The daily dress of the Americans differs also from that of the English in being less neat. The Americans are too much occupied with their business, which, in consequence of the dearness of labour and the value of time, would be deranged by neglect, to permit them to devote the same degree of attention to the toilet as is customary in England.

It is for the same reason that they do every thing in a hurry, even to eating their meals, which, under different names, they take four times a day. When Sunday comes to suspend the general bustle, the streets of the large cities and public places, are filled with loungers, who pass their time in gazing at passengers, to whom they invariably communicate the ennui with which they themselves are oppressed.

The rudiments of knowledge being very generally diffused throughout the United States, it is not usual to meet, even in the labouring class, with persons who are ignorant of reading, writing and arithmetic. English travellers acknowledge that their language, as it is spoken by the generality of the inhabitants of the United States, is purer and more correct than in the

mother country, where each province, or in other words county, differs from the rest by its peculiar dialect. But if after having made this concession, we proceed to the examination of the state of the arts and sciences, at the first glance we discover, that as regards them, the country is still far behind Europe.

The price of labour and time concur in producing such a result. This assertion requires explanation. We know that the population of the United States, since the period of their independence, has constantly increased in a proportion almost unexampled. But the extension of their territory has advanced in a still more rapid progression; to be convinced of which, it is only necessary to consult the map of the United States, such as they were in 1783, and afterwards that which has just been published for the use of schools. The first effect of so vast an accession of territory, has been the dispersion of a number of men over an immense surface.

A considerable amount of capital of course took the same direction, and its accumulation in the great maritime cities was retarded.

I am far from wishing to deny, that the employment of capital in clearing new lands, might be, after all, most favourable to the future prosperity of the country; but on the other hand it must be admitted, that such a state of things can but little promote the cultivation of letters, the fine arts, and all the other branches of learning which constitute the intellectual domain of man.

This degree of civilization requires a class of individuals who possess leisure and means of subsistence independently of labour; and it is evident that such a class of persons must be very small, (not to say that it has no existence) in a country, where agricultural industry, as is the case at this moment, engages so large a portion of the general population.

The civil legislatures of all the states of the union disown the rights of primogeniture and all species of estates tail.* To proscribe such institutions in a new country, immense in its extent, and democratically constituted, is undoubtedly wise; but it is incontestible, that the continual subdivision of estates and their constant

* See note E.

dispersion over a vast and thinly populated territory, must, by the difficulties attendant on them, operate prejudicially on learned institutions, whenever a permanent revenue is to be raised for their maintenance.

Nevertheless, it is an act of justice which cannot be refused to the various governments of the American confederation, to declare, that in every thing that concerns the progress of knowledge, they manifest an emulation which cannot be too highly praised. The North Americans, so divided among themselves in their political opinions, all concur in the necessity of encouraging public education, as one of the most powerful supports of a republican government. In all the states of the union, public lands have been appropriated to the support of public schools,* and wherever population and its moral wants have shown a necessity for a higher species of instruction, as in the eastern and middle states, public revenue has been brought to the assistance of the establishment of colleges and universities, in which education embraces all the branches of human knowledge.

See note F.

Among the latter, the university of Cambridge in Massachusetts, Hartford and Yale in Connecticut, the universities of New York and Philadelphia, are justly entitled to the first rank by the celebrity of their professors, and the number of young men whom they have sent forth with an education as extensive as solid.

The number of colleges is much greater—each state possesses at least one, many two, or even more. As to the elementary schools, they are scattered over the whole surface of the United States; and in traversing the western states, it is not unusual to meet with huts, where, for want of a better place, the children of the neighbourhood, are instructed in the first rudiments of science.

A high degree of intellectual cultivation exists, among their distinguished lawyers, physicians, ecclesiastics and merchants. It has given the first a preponderating influence in the conduct of public affairs; and it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the government of the United States is entirely in the hands of the lawyers; a consequence natural enough, and which could scarcely be otherwise

in a country where a talent for public speaking is incessantly in demand.

In those states of the union, in which negro slavery is sanctioned by law, and where consequently all labour is performed by that heterogeneous race, we frequently find, among the opulent planters, men accomplished in education and manners. We can account for this circumstance by remarking, that these planters, relieved by their slaves from all the grosser details of rural and domestic economy, have more leisure to devote to the study of the useful and ornamental sciences, than citizens of states in which slavery does not exist. Besides, they associate among themselves exclusively, entirely separate from the negroes, who, from this very fact, are assimilated to other domestic animals; although in Virginia, South Carolina, and some other states, the proportion of blacks amounts to one half of the population, and in Louisiana to even more. In this way, the rich living among themselves, reciprocally improve each other in civilization; whilst elsewhere the whole population, or at least the great majority of it, being composed of free citizens, the relations between the

rich and poor are materially modified by a spirit of equality, and the continual tendency of property to subdivision. If this tendency exist likewise in states tolerating slavery, at least property is retained in the same class; whilst elsewhere it is distributed throughout all ranks of society. But this advantage enjoyed by the southern planters, is almost counterbalanced by the moral influence of slavery over those who profit by it. It has been asserted in congress, that slavery is favourable to liberty in a republic, by the striking contrast it constantly offers to the view of free citizens. Thus, said they, the degradation of the Helots fostered the enthusiastic love of liberty which formerly distinguished the Spartans.

Such reasoning is more specious than just. The human race is endowed with moral and physical faculties which are weakened and destroyed by the want of proper application and regular exercise. For, when to satisfy the wants and humours of one class of men, it is only requisite to perform a simple act of volition on the physical activity of another, it is certain that the former will more and more be attached to their own personal ease: at the same time it is

not less true that from time to time, they will contract habits of indolence and effeminacy, which will exert a pernicious influence on their moral and physical faculties.

This effect, this influence is perceptible in all the states in which slavery obtains. And if, among the members of congress a considerable number of those who represent the southern states are distinguished by a very great fluency of speech, and a certain elegance of manners, yet force of argument and extent of view, have more frequently characterized the members from states in which slavery is not allowed.*

By a natural consequence of the subdivision of property, constantly taking place in the United

*I must confess that I never could admire the organization of a republic like that of Sparta, (if indeed it ever was a republic,) where thirty thousand free citizens, required forty thousand slaves to perform the labours of their domestic economy. For it is a well established historical fact, that the free Spartans did not cultivate the earth, and that they abandoned to their Helots the mechanic arts and trades, such as they were in those barbarous times. And what did those devoted champions of liberty achieve? Incessantly engaged in murder and pillage, they waged a deadly war against their neighbours whom they rendered to slavery, after having ravaged their lands and destroyed their dwellings.

States, there are now but very few hereditary estates, although we frequently meet with very considerable acquired fortunes. This will be the case, as long as the population continues, as at present, to bear so great a disproportion to the extent of ground it occupies; and this want of hereditary fortunes, can be perhaps attributed to no other cause, than the absence of a class of men, so common in Europe, called *men of leisure*.* Too large a class of this description, would undoubtedly be inconvenient, but as long as it remains within proper bounds, it can scarcely be otherwise than very useful, were it only by the encouragement it affords to the sciences and fine arts, and to other liberal pursuits which tend to polish the manners and invest them with external grace. It is only among the planters of the south, that we find persons of sufficient leisure to be able to devote themselves to occupations of their own choice. But this advantage is counterbalanced by the insalubrity of the climate, which compels the more opulent to temporary migration in the summer season; from which fact it happens, that their leisure is pass-

* See Appendix.

ed in journies, without any permanent advantage to polite literature.

The greater part of the inhabitants of the maritime towns, employ themselves wholly in their private business, with, however, less apparent activity than in Europe, where labour is so minutely subdivided. Among those who boast an accomplished education, or whom nature has endowed with intellectual faculties of the higher order, profound and varied knowledge is frequently met with. On this head we might cite some professors attached to different American universities. But it is very rare, if not to say impossible, to find in the United States, *savans* or men of letters, whose lives are exclusively devoted to the cultivation of any particular branch of science. Their labours would be compensated neither by pecuniary gain nor even reputation; for although it is very common, and even general in the United States, to read and write, the ordinary occupations of a majority of the inhabitants of both town and country, do not allow them more leisure time than is required to run over the gazette of the day or some literary journal. Sunday is occupied in reading pious books. *not alone*

Independently of the time allotted to labour, a considerable part of the day is consecrated to the conduct of public affairs.—This devotion of time and industry is one of the rigorous conditions belonging to republican institutions. Without pretending to decide, whether it be an advantage or a disadvantage, we shall merely remark, that the Americans are incessantly called upon to exercise their rights, as legislators, judges, jurors, or ministers of the law.

There are in the United States, in all the large cities, literary societies, destined not only to afford encouragement to, but also to serve as the depositories of the sciences and fine arts. Notwithstanding, the greater part of the members of these associations do little, or absolutely nothing for them. They are like plants that languish from being neglected. Want of leisure is again the cause of their being so little useful; for although those who compose them are enlightened amateurs of letters, they are almost exclusively either rich merchants, lawyers much engaged in their professional duties, or public officers. These voluntary associations for the promotion of the fine arts are in a state of extreme

weakness, arising from the want of encouragement, of which, they at this moment stand in need. There is scarcely a single American sculptor of any reputation. The Americans are not deficient in painters and especially in limners, but unfortunately the state of things in that country obliges them to regard painting in no other light than as a lucrative trade, and not as an art which has conferred great fame on all those who have cultivated it with success.

Nor is architecture, considered as a branch of the fine arts, more conspicuous in their public edifices. It usually wears a sorry and tasteless appearance. Sometimes you see a light wooden steeple surmounting a very heavy brick building; sometimes a portico in the grecian style, also of wood, stuck against the side of a massive building.

Mr. Jefferson, formerly president of the United States, says somewhere in his Notes on Virginia, that the genius of architecture has pronounced his malediction on that country. This may certainly appear extravagant to all who have seen the bank of Pennsylvania in Phila-

delphia, and the capitol of Richmond in Virginia.

The fact is, that their public edifices universally suffer from a mistaken economy. The Americans, however, cannot be reproached with avarice as a trait of their character, for they oftener run to the opposite extreme. But it is certain that they have manifested great parsimony in the employment of their public funds; and this virtue, (for it is one there,) seems to be a natural consequence of their democratical institutions.

In speaking of the state of the sciences in the United States, justice requires that we should not lose sight of the principal circumstance, which seems to have impeded the progress of indigenous literature. This is no other than the identity of their language with that of England. At the period of their national independence, the English language was already rich in models of every kind. Consequently, it would have been very difficult for the Americans to have opened a new road in the domain of literature. To this day, the same identity of language, does not allow them to create a national literature;

and thus, all the efforts of genius are, in some measure, restricted to an imitation of foreign models.

The Americans are generally very hospitable; and notwithstanding the high opinion they entertain of themselves, receive strangers with eagerness and cordiality, without examining too scrupulously the letters of recommendation presented to them. In the cities, hospitality is manifested by frequent invitations to dinner and evening parties, which often pave the way for a stranger, to a much more permanent acquaintance. But where you pay a visit to Americans residing on their estates in the interior of the country, the hospitality, which they extend to you, carries with it an air of frankness and benevolence quite patriarchal; and the traveller is sure to please his host, by behaving towards him with unaffected civility, and by humouring his eager curiosity.

Regarded in their domestic relations, the Americans generally appear good heads of families, attached to their wives and children, and very much devoted to their society. But the relation between parent and child seems to preserve its

natural strength only until the latter has attained the age of puberty. This observation is particularly applicable to males. They usually quit the paternal roof at fifteen years of age, for the purpose of prosecuting their studies in some college, from which they go to an university, to complete them. When returned from it, with or without an academic degree, the young men immediately turn their attention to the choice of a profession, and launch into the world to make their fortune, often with means furnished by their families, and oftener with nothing more than a paternal benediction and the brilliant dreams of a youthful imagination.

It does not unfrequently happen that, after this first separation, the parents never see their children again; especially when the latter seek an establishment in the western states, or abandon themselves to the dangers of a maritime life.

Women in the United States enjoy a reputation for morality, which the most violent defamers of that country have never dared assail. They assiduously fulfil the duties of wives and mothers. Their deportment is modest, decent and very reserved. Petitions for divorce are not

rare, but they are most generally founded on incompatibility of temper, and are very seldom on account of adultery.

It cannot, however, be denied, that in maritime cities, and even in the metropolis, libertinism is carried to a great length by the young men. But the care that is taken to conceal it under the veil of mystery, bears sufficient testimony to the fact, that this species of irregularity forms a contrast to the morals of the country. Within a few years only, those mercenary dispensers of debauchery, who swarm in the large towns of Europe, have here made their appearance in places of public resort; and the time is but lately past, when prostitutes were obliged to hide themselves from public view, and dared not expose their infamous profession in the streets, for fear of being hooted at and grossly insulted. But it must be confessed, that this horror of incontinence has already undergone some change, and the aspect of the cities of America, is not always, in this particular, very favorable to good morals.

The beauty of the women of the United States, is generally acknowledged. But it is of so frail

and transient a character, that a sentiment of compassion immediately mingles itself with the pleasure you experience in beholding the young and numerous American beauties, who assemble together in their evening entertainments. You involuntarily compare them to delicate flowers that wither before the slightest breath of a northern wind. The frequent changes in the temperature of the air which distinguish the climate of the United States, exert a fatal influence on the health of the inhabitants and the beauty of the women.

The Anglo-Americans have been accused of an excessive and even a shocking degree of national vanity. To a certain extent, this reproach may be well founded; for it cannot be denied, that they are not very sparing in the praises they bestow upon themselves on every occasion. But on the other hand, where is the nation without vanity? Besides, this national vanity shows itself so often in the United States, because there are there more numerous opportunities for its display, than in any other country. It is inherent in the nature of a republican government, based on the sovereignty of the people. Who does not

know that of all sovereigns, the sovereign people is most avaricious of praise; and as their suffrages are indispensable to the election either of a supreme magistrate, an inspector of a market, and even of an officer of a regiment of militia, it follows, that the ambition of the one and avarice of others, singing in chorus, the praises of the sovereign people, have finished by reducing the perpetual adulation addressed to them, in the speeches of their orators, and the columns of their gazettes, to the simple formula which declares, that the American nation is the most enlightened and virtuous on earth. This assertion may be even found in the annual messages of the president of the United States.

The vanity of which we speak certainly exists in an equal degree, in other countries; but it is differently and less frequently exhibited, because elections of every kind and political meetings are either of more rare occurrence or have no existence at all.

* The Americans are in general religious. This assertion is more applicable to the inhabitants of the northern and middle states, than to those of the other parts of the Union; for, it is notorious

that in the southern and western states, an absolute indifference, in regard to religious matters, is quite common.* Sunday and other great feasts, which are very rare with them, are strictly observed by the Americans. An acquaintance with, or to speak more correctly, the reading of the holy scriptures, is very general in the United States, even among the labouring classes. But the condition of the clergy is far from enviable. They are subjected to the influence of republican forms, and like the rest of the citizens, compelled to go through the ordeal of election. In the greater portion of the United States the parochial duties of the churches are performed by ecclesiastics, whom the congregation, at whose expense the church has been built, choose from among the candidates presented to them. They receive a fixed salary, and their perquisites amount to very little. A situation so precarious is calculated, neither to excite emulation among individuals devoted to an ecclesiastical life, nor to induce young scholars to study the-

*Nevertheless persons worthy of credit, assure me, that within some years past, religious sentiments conformable to the christian doctrine, have gained ground in Virginia and in other southern states.

ological science profoundly. Hence pulpit oratory has not yet shone very brightly in the United States. Scarcely can we name any American divines who have acquired much reputation by their eloquence or writings; and the few that might be adduced, are to be found in Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the spirit of religion most prevails.

The same spirit of investigation and control, which presides over the political institutions of the United States, would likewise make religious creeds subordinate to human reason. Toleration is there without restriction. Every species of worship is free, and none provided for by the state. Thence results the multiplication of sects to such a degree, that it would be difficult to enumerate them. Having no cause of mutual jealousy, they live in peace with each other, or at most, wage a war of the pen, which does not produce the least sensation in the public mind.

Contrary to the exclusive spirit which animates their European brethren, the Roman Catholics of the United States have willingly acceded to this system of absolute toleration.

There are also in the United States, communities of Jews, although inconsiderable in number; and it will without doubt appear strange, that the Jews, participating in all the rights of American citizens, live among themselves without the least intermixture with the christians. Some exceptions might be cited, but they are very rare, and the quotation of them would only prove the fact.

Of all the religious denominations composing the population of the United States, the society of friends, so justly celebrated under the title of *Quakers*, is most distinguished by the love of order and charity among its members. To the divine principle of universal benevolence, which constitutes the true spirit of christianity and which they put into practice, is owing the good state of prisons, hospitals and schools; and indeed all the efforts which have been made to civilize the Indians.

The *Methodists*, another very numerous sect, are remarkable by their zeal for the propagation of the christian faith among the Indians and negro slaves. But the sect of *Unitarians*, or followers of Dr. Priestly, augments most rapidly

at this time. This phenomenon is curious, and we may well be astonished that it can obtain in a country, where human reason is so jealous of its prerogatives. For, the doctrine of the Unitarians or Anti-Trinitarians, is a mixture of faith and philosophical skepticism difficult to be reconciled. They admit the Bible as the foundation of their belief, and then declare that it is unintelligible to human reason and opposed to it. They acknowledge the divine mission of Jesus Christ, and yet deny the divinity of his nature.

It is proper nevertheless to state, that this sect counts among its adherents, a great number of individuals, who do honor to the human species by their exalted virtues and the good example they offer to their fellow citizens.

The writings of Thomas Payne having had a very extensive circulation in that country, have not failed to disseminate deism. But the deists, although they have nothing to fear from the laws, have not yet dared to organize themselves into a religious community or to open a temple of worship.

In a word, what is the present state of society in the United States? A civilized population, but

spread over an immense and still new territory. All is in motion and rapidly advances towards a better order of things. But this motion, in consequence of the very great disparity between the extent of territory, and the population, is rather physical than moral. Human industry there seems absorbed in the desire of wealth; and they do not think as yet of enjoying their acquisitions.

Those who seek but for an easy and tranquil existence, without being dependant on any man; those whose situation would induce them to withdraw from unmerited oppression; those, in fine, who only aspire to the lucrative employment of their physical force, with good conduct and sobriety, may easily realize all their hopes in the United States.

It is, above all, the country for those who are unfortunate and yet possess means of subsistence, or for men without fortune but laborious and temperate. Much time must yet elapse before this country becomes the sanctuary of the sciences, the fine arts and those intellectual enjoyments which form the charm of society.

Foreigners who have made a long stay in the United States remark, that Europeans who visited them, either through curiosity or belonging to some public mission, rarely become attached to the country, but are for the greater part impatient to leave it. Is this the fault of the Americans or of the strangers? It is probable that both are to blame. If, as they have been accused, the Americans are conceited and selfish, on examining the matter more closely, we shall perhaps find, that the Europeans on their part, exact too much.

In terminating this sketch, we admonish the reader not to expect to find a portrait of the United States resembling the original in all its details. Such a task would require considerable time for the collection of materials, as well as that philosophical quickness of perception, bestowed by nature on her favorites alone. The author is satisfied with uniting in this composition, the characteristic traits of a country interesting in many respects, and little known to Europe. He is not sure of having been always accurate, but he has endeavoured to be impartial; and hopes that the Americans will not reproach him with voluntary error.

APPENDIX,



NOTE A. PAGE 9.

THIS charter was granted by Charles the second, in the fourteenth year of his reign, and it remains unchanged, except the alterations necessary to make the judicial processes and the oaths of office and allegiance conformable to the principles of the revolution. The constitution of Rhode Island is one of those, in which, as the author observes, the democratic ingredient seems most to prevail, and is a striking illustration of his remarks, that our contest with England was more for political freedom than civil rights. It was for both, indeed; for a surrender of the former, would have endangered the latter.

NOTE B. PAGE 14.

At the time of the compilation of his work, Mr. Seybert was a member of congress from Pennsylvania, and fully availed himself of the ample means in his power of rendering it authentic and complete.

NOTE C. PAGE 35.

The existence of slavery among us, is to be attributed to the British government, and not to us. The colonies, which now compose this nation, remonstrated against its introduction; but it was insisted on in Europe, because it was believed that the mother country would profit by the labours of the blacks.

By their great increase, and large infusion into the mass of society in some of the states of this confederacy, our situation has become full of difficulty and peril. Every man among us that reflects, is alive to the importance and delicacy of the subject. The injurious tendency of slavery, so visible in the South,—its inhumanity,—its contradiction of our acknowledged principles and boasted institutions,—the danger of oppressing a mass of human creatures, becoming every day more enlightened and consequently more powerful, restless and resentful,—are better understood and more properly felt in this, than they can be in any other country.

A thousand schemes have been devised of amelioration and relief. But the great diversity of opinion has been injurious, as it always is, to the successful prosecution of any. Many of the projects, inadequate perhaps to their object, were thwarted by the opposition of liberal and philanthropic persons; and others, more feasible, by the selfish, timid, narrow minded and jealous. Public opinion is manifestly in favour of

the adoption of some plan; and certainly an imperfect one, is better than none at all.

The idea of manumission, however gradual, is justly rejected. Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves. As long as they remain, they should be held in bondage; for they can never amalgamate with us, nor be admitted to the privileges of citizens, but must be for ever a subordinate and degraded cast. Such a mockery of freedom would be worse than slavery: it would not more contribute to their happiness, and yet endanger ours.

Brilliant hopes were, for a short time, inspired by an invitation to our free blacks from the government of Hayti: but they have been utterly disappointed. The reservoir itself would have been too small to contain them all, even if it had not been prematurely closed, by the prejudices of the Haytiens and the caprice and arbitrary character of their rulers. A great number of the North American blacks, who took refuge there, have returned to our shores. They found a foreign language, a disordered and ignorant society, intolerant notions of religion, and a despotic government.

It is now generally admitted, that if we wish to remove our coloured population, we must provide them with a home and country, where they may speak their native tongue, enjoy under our protection the republican institutions they have learnt from us to appreciate, and be a homogenous nation.

Some of their zealous and even enlightened advocates, have recommended, that they should be conveyed (as rapidly as they may be emancipated in the natural course of things,) to the north west coast of America, and there established as an independent people. This project, which does not effectually separate them from us, and is the most laborious and expensive, has nothing to recommend it but the sincerity and zeal in which it was conceived, and which were determined to manifest themselves in so holy a cause, by forming some design for its promotion.

The only plausible scheme that has yet been devised, is the removal of the blacks to Africa. It is supported by a vast majority of those who have turned their attention to the subject, and has met the approbation of some of our wisest and most distinguished statesmen. A territory has already been there provided, for their reception, by the American colonization society; and the colony, though unfortunate in its infancy, like all settlements in new and unknown countries, has since enjoyed a more prosperous existence than any of the early and similar establishments on the coast of America. This territory, called the Montserado, was purchased from the native tribes in December of 1821, and has since been furnished with inhabitants, occasionally and at irregular periods, at the expense of the society. The population now amounts to about four hundred.—If the means at the command of the society were greater, emigration

would be regular and rapid; for the blacks manifest a decided preference and strong inclination for that course. When the society of Friends, of North Carolina, came to a determination recently of manumitting all their slaves, and gave them the choice of the place to which they would be conveyed, at least two thirds selected Africa. Most of the others preferred Hayti; and a few, the non-slaveholding states of the west. But little, however, can be effected by a revenue of only ten thousand dollars, derived from the voluntary fluctuating and uncertain contributions of charitable individuals and societies. Nothing, indeed, can be done by means so slender, but to lay the foundation of a colony, and from the practicability of the scheme.

This has been amply done; and the projectors and promoters of the work look for its completion to the general government or the states. The former may be deterred, by the morbidness on this subject of the southern members of the union, from lending its assistance further than hitherto; that is, than maintaining a vessel of war on the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and fostering the village it has established for the reception of recaptured Africans. But it is highly probable, that many of the latter will give it their effectual support.

It is a scheme of the most national and philanthropic character. It comprises every kind of charity, the most permanent and enlarged. The advantages to us are obvious; to humanity, not less

so; to the blacks, equally; to Africa, immense. We rid ourselves of a deadly and growing evil and foul reproach, and open a wider field for the increase and industry of our fellow-citizens. We provide a home for the colored man, where he may enjoy the happiness and freedom that Providence has granted us. We plant the banners of civilization and the gospel on the shore of Africa; whence they may effect their mild and gradual conquest of the entire continent, and compensate it for the miseries heretofore inflicted.

Whether the colored population of the whole United States can be removed, by any plan whatsoever, we shall not decide. We are not sanguine enough to expect or hope it. In the southern states they are, from the nature of the soil and climate, infinitely more valuable than elsewhere, more numerous, more closely interwoven into the texture of society, and more difficult therefore to remove by gradual and natural causes. The people of those states seem to cling to slavery as the pillar of their wealth and independence; and it is too much to be feared, that if any measures, however moderate and proper, relative to that subject, be brought before the national legislature, they will offer an opposition proportioned to what they suppose to be their interest in the question.

But, fortunately, the condition of the middle, western and more northern states is very different. In Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and perhaps North Carolina,

where the climate is more salubrious, the slaves less numerous and more enlightened, the white population more vigorous and pressing upon the blacks, ready to fill the vacuum to be created by their removal—where the interests of society are not blended with that baneful institution, but prejudice is against it—there, we may hope without being accused of too much enthusiasm, that the scheme of gradual emancipation and removal, and transportation to the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, will have its full and happiest effect. It must necessarily be slow at first. But every successive wave of emigration will deepen the channel. Such was the case, in the peopling of this continent. A few straggling vessels, a few timid adventurers, laid the foundations of this nation, after repeated and fruitless attempts, and opened the reservoir into which, for centuries, have been pouring the oppressed and enterprising inhabitants of Europe. Such will be the case with Africa. Emigration will not be supplied, as from Europe hither, from all the orders of society, draining off a surplus that was not missed: but will be confined to a single class and colour, whose situation and affinity must impel them to go. It will not be checked, as it was in Europe, by statutes and penalties; but encouraged by the laws, promoted by the nature of things, and accelerated by the elastic pressure of a different and better species of population. It is not too bold to assert, that at this moment, thousands of slaves are held in bondage, in those

states, merely from the impolicy of manumission; and that an outlet is eagerly sought, through which they may be poured. That they themselves are willing to go, is proved by the fact, that in less than a year, and notwithstanding the predictions of the wise, six thousand voluntarily embarked for Hayti. If their expedition had been successful, and they had not been so cruelly disappointed, thousands would have followed them, and a continual stream been kept up, until the island was full or this country exhausted. It is in the very nature of things, that people situated as they are, should ardently embrace a scheme so calculated for their welfare.

NOTE D. PAGE 37.

The constitution itself provides for the admission of new states into the confederacy, in the following words: "New states may be admitted by congress into this union."

Under this authority, congress direct the time and manner of such admissions. But the conciseness of the phrase in which the power is conferred, and the use of the word "may," which implies or seems to imply an unlimited discretion, have occasioned a great variety of opinion on the extent to which the power may be exercised.

Some persons contend that congress have not the right of refusing admittance to a territory, after it has attained a certain population. However, it evidently rests with congress to determine

what that population shall be. And yet it would certainly be contrary to the spirit of our institutions, to hold a territory for ever in vassallage, or debar it, even for a short time after it has grown to a suitable importance, from those rights and privileges, for which we ourselves so obstinately struggled.

It has also been a matter of much dispute, whether Congress may impose upon a territory applying for admission, any condition that they please. This objection almost resolves itself into the former. The prevailing sentiment, (formed during the discussion of the Missouri question,) seems to be, that Congress do possess the right; although it may be sometimes highly inexpedient to enforce it. The only limit to their power would appear to us to be, that the condition should be compatible with the republican form of government. The time may come, when that power of rejection will be a protecting bulwark, to repress the exorbitant extension of our territory and shield us from intrusion.

NOTE 5. PAGE 44.

The Post-office may almost be said to have become a separate department. It has grown to be one of the most important ramifications of our internal policy; extending over the whole face of the country, carrying information not

only of domestic but of foreign events to the door of every citizen, and bringing the remotest regions to be neighbouring districts. It may well be said to be the band, that is wound around the fasces of our Union; for without it, a republican government could not be wielded over such an extent of surface and variety of affairs.

If we enumerate the post-masters, clerks, contractors, drivers, and all the other persons necessary to such an establishment, we shall find perhaps that there are more under the immediate and indirect control of the Post Master General, than under any other branch of the government; and we may then form some idea of the power and importance of the station. Indeed, the only respect in which the Post Master General can be said to be subordinate to the Secretary of the Treasury, is, that he renders through him to Congress, a quarterly account of the expenditures and profits of the establishment. These seemed to come properly within the province of the financial department. But in every thing else, Congress communicate with the Post Master General directly, and as with the chief of a separate department; as may be observed in the laws establishing new post-offices or post-roads, and building bridges, &c. for the convenient transportation and safety of the mail.

NOTE 6. PAGE 46.

The learned author has expressed himself vaguely, in saying that the President is "conjointly with the Senate, commander in chief." He is, alone, commander in chief of the army and navy. He appoints all officers by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; but he may dismiss them at pleasure from the service. This, however, is seldom or never done, without the intervention of a court-martial. As it is a power which appears to subserve no useful purpose, and may be converted by daring and ambitious men to the perpetration of the worst designs, it is highly probable that the bill now before congress, for suppressing it, will become a part of the constitution.

NOTE 7, PAGE 54.

The attempts which several times were made to abolish the military academy, have entirely failed; and that institution, so admirably suited to our wants and our form of government, has become one of the favourites of the nation. It has also essentially improved, both in a literary point of view and in its internal organization.—The slight disturbances which once took place at West Point, and which the distinguished author views in so serious a light, were entirely accidental, and are not likely to occur again:

and the useful operation of that school, in furnishing not only our regular army, but our militia too, with accomplished officers, has woven it permanently into our political institutions. Indeed, it is rather a part of the militia, than of the regular army; of the civil, than the military organization of the country. In the inception of a great system of internal improvements, we have already derived essential service, from the labours of gentlemen educated at the academy.

As civil and topographical engineers, they are now exploring every part of our vast country, that the smallness of their number will permit them to reach; and it is difficult to tell, whence we could derive a sufficient body of scientific engineers, as the work progresses, but from the bosom of such an institution. Their education and pursuits enable them, certainly, to provide at once for the commercial intercourse and military defence of the nation, better than persons solely devoted to either enquiry.

The number of cadets is about two hundred and fifty-one; and they are from the different states, nearly in proportion to their respective representation in congress. From Maine, there are seven; from New-Hampshire, seven; Massachusetts, fifteen; Rhode-Island, two; Connecticut, six; Vermont, nine; New-York, thirty-five; New-Jersey, seven; Pennsylvania, twenty-nine; Delaware, two; Maryland, ten; Virginia, twenty-four; North Carolina, thirteen; South Caro-

lina, twelve; Georgia, eight; Kentucky, fourteen; Tennessee, eleven; Ohio, twelve; Louisiana, four; Indiana, five; Missouri, four; Alabama, five; Mississippi, two; Illinois, two; Michigan, two; Florida, two; District of Columbia, two.

NOTE 8. PAGE 56.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that our navy has been considerably strengthened since that period, not only by the addition of several ships of the largest class, and many frigates and sloops of war, but also by the improvement of our naval stations, the increased facility of obtaining materials, in consequence of internal improvements the fortification of our harbours and rivers, and, above all, the growing public sentiment in its favour.

NOTE 9. PAGE 58.

It cannot be denied, that many of our naval officers are better acquainted with the practical than the scientific part of their profession. This deficiency has been remedied, in some degree, by the stricter examination now required for promotion, and it will be entirely removed by a well conducted naval academy. The gallantry of our officers has heretofore blinded us to any imperfections; but the nation is now convinced

that something is wanting, and seem determined to supply it.

NOTE 10. PAGE 65.

To this vagueness of the constitution, we owe some of the greatest and most wholesome powers of the general government. For instance, the right of establishing a national bank, of founding naval and military colleges, of making roads and canals, is an implied or constructive power. It is a vagueness indispensable in a form of government like ours; to clothe the representatives of the people with authority necessary to their usefulness, and adapt our institutions to the growth and prosperity of the country. The danger of its admitting of too unlimited an interpretation, is obviated by the jealous watchfulness of the state governments, and the jurisdiction of the supreme court.

The time no doubt will come, when all the disputed points of the constitution will have been decided. Its framers will then be applauded for their wisdom, in not making it immutable, and binding it tightly around the body politic, so as to impede and cramp its motions, but leaving it an easy flowing garment, that might adorn and adapt itself to every size and posture.

In a government like ours, a confederacy of active, enlightened and independent states, with conflicting views, and sometimes interests, it is easier to put a proper restraint on vague and un-

defined powers, than to give them an energy, however useful and necessary, beyond the express provisions of the instrument that confers them.

NOTE 11. PAGE 75.

We are not aware that, in any state, the murder of a slave is not punishable by death. His testimony is, of course, and properly, rejected; for it is utterly impossible, from the influence exerted over him and his condition, that he should be an impartial and credible witness.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that some juries, (from prejudice, we presume,) but too reluctantly avenge the injuries of that unfortunate race.

NOTE 12. PAGE 76.

The greatest difference between the administration of justice in this country and in England, consists in the political jurisdiction of the supreme court. That august tribunal is, perhaps, peculiar in that respect.

NOTE 13. PAGE 81.

By a "local court of original jurisdiction," the acute and distinguished author means, we presume, the district court; from which appeals

are had to the circuit court. He is in error, however, in calling it a "local court," as it is one of the courts of the United States. A "local court," as we should understand it, would signify a state court.

NOTE 14. PAGE 102.

Nothing can be added to the concise but luminous views here taken, of the penitentiary system of the United States. The causes to which he justly attributes, the failure of many specious and alluring schemes of philanthropy in the organization of prisons, have begun to be understood and obviated. "The want of a proper classification of culprits," will be remedied by separation and solitary confinement. "The luxury of charity, with which prisoners are provided for," will be corrected by experience of its bad effects. And the "abuse of the pardoning power," will be restrained by the good sense of executive officers, or by an all-powerful public opinion.

Solitary confinement of those who have committed the more heinous offences, and classification of the rest, according to their ages, sexes and the nature and degree of their guilt, may still be rendered compatible with industry, economy and gentleness within the prison walls. The experiment cannot be said to have been yet fully tried; and the failures and obstacles

heretofore encountered, must be attributed not so much to the system itself, as to the extreme difficulty of its practical application. That difficulty will soon be almost entirely removed, by the two penitentiaries now erecting in Pennsylvania, on the new plan; and the system will then receive a fair and final trial. If it should still prove defective, (though reason seems to recommend it, as well as benevolence,) attention will be turned to some other scheme; and certainly the enlightened and enquiring spirit that pervades the country on that subject, must ultimately lead to the discovery and adoption of the best.

NOTE E. PAGE 116.

Although estates tail are not positively prohibited by law, yet they can scarcely be said to exist, for they can be destroyed by a simple conveyance in fee. In England, they resort for the same purpose to intricate and antiquated forms; such as fine and common recovery.

NOTE F. PAGE 117.

The system of public schools may be justly considered, as a necessary part of our republican institutions; for where the people are self-governed, they should be enlightened.

This idea prevails pretty generally throughout

the United States, and is daily, by experience, becoming stronger. In those states, in which no system of public schools has been yet adopted and no funds appropriated to the object, a wiser and more liberal spirit is beginning to reign. In Maryland, or at least in the city of Baltimore, we are about adopting a plan worthy of our prosperity and resources.

In some of the states, very large funds are set apart for public education. New England is particularly distinguished in that respect. The annual expenditure for that object in Boston alone, is seventy thousand dollars; and the advantages and beauty of the system are there most strongly exemplified. The school fund in Connecticut, amounts to two million, seven hundred and sixty-four thousand, three hundred and sixty-nine dollars, and yields an annual revenue of one hundred and five thousand, eight hundred and sixty-two dollars.

Pennsylvania also adopted, in 1819, the New England system of public schools. The establishment, though yet in its infancy, promises, from the wealth and populousness of that state, to be one of the most extensive and complete.—Up to 1824, ten thousand, eight hundred and nine children had been admitted into the public schools, and in that year nearly three thousand more were added.

Virginia, too, has devoted several millions of dollars to the institution of schools and a univer-

sity. Perhaps, in the present state of literature there, she might have better omitted the latter, which has formidable rivals and substitutes in other places, and applied the immense sums it cost to a more complete extension of *primary* schools, whose absense cannot be supplied. The rich, who are those that most commonly pursue the higher branches of education, can go abroad to obtain them; but the poor citizen is confined to the spot, and if he finds not the means of education there, he finds them not at all.

New York, the leader in the great work of internal improvement, has not been more backward in the cause of general education. She appropriated five hundred thousand acres of land to the purpose; of which three hundred and ninety-six thousand, nine hundred and forty-seven had been sold in eighteen hundred and sixteen. She has, besides, devoted an annual income of sixty-four thousand, and fifty-three dollars. In eighteen hundred and twenty four, there were seven thousand, six hundred and forty-two school districts in the state; three hundred and eleven of which were established during that year: and the number of children taught, for the average of nine months, was four hundred and two thousand, nine hundred and forty. The general school-fund amounts to one million, seven hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and the local school fund to thirty-seven thousand. The sum paid to teachers,

out of the public funds, was one hundred and eighty-two thousand, seven hundred and forty-one dollars.

Besides these schools provided at the public expense, there are many others maintained by charitable individuals. Such, for instance, are the schools of the Free-school society, in the city of New York, at which thirty thousand white, and one thousand seven hundred coloured children are taught. And in addition to the funds applicable to the common schools, the sums of money and other appropriations given, by the state, to the several academies and colleges, are immense.

NOTE 17. PAGE 119.

Table of the White Population in 1810 and in 1820 with the increase, and the Coloured Population at the same period, with the increase and ratios of increase.

States and Territories.	White Population.		Increase.	Colored Population.		Increase.	Decrease	Ratio of white 'se col. in 'se.	Ratio of
	1810	1820		1810	1820				
Maine	227,736	297,340	69,604	969	889		80	30.5-10 pc	
New-Hampshire	213,490	243,236	29,746	970	786		184	13.9-10	
Massachusetts	465,403	516,419	51,016	6,737	6,740	3		8-5-10	
Rhode Island	73,914	79,413	6,199	3,712	3,602		110	4-7-10	
Connecticut	235,179	267,181	12,002	6,763	7,967	1,504		8-2-10	17-7-10
Vermont	217,145	234,846	17,701	750	903	153			2
New-York	918,699	1,332,744	414,045	40,350	39,367		983	45	
New-Jersey	226,868	257,409	30,541	18,700	20,017	1,317		13-5-10	7
Pennsylvania	786,804	1,017,094	230,290	23,253	30,413	7,130		29-3-10	30-6-10
Delaware	55,361	55,282		17,311	17,467	156			9-10
Maryland	235,117	260,232	25,105	145,434	147,130	1,696		10-7-10	1-1-10
Virginia	551,534	603,074	51,540	423,088	462,042	38,954		9-3-10	9-2-10
North Carolina	376,430	419,200	42,770	179,090	219,629	40,539		11-3-10	22-5-10
South Carolina	214,196	237,440	23,244	200,919	265,301	64,383		10-2-10	32
Georgia	145,416	159,566	14,150	107,019	151,419	44,400		30-3-10	41-5-10
Kentucky	324,237	434,644	110,407	82,274	129,491	47,217			57-3-10
Ohio	228,861	576,572	347,711	1,899	4,723	2,824		152	148-7-10
Tennessee	215,875	339,727	123,852	45,852	82,834	36,982		57-3-10	80-6-10
Mississippi	23,964	42,176	18,212	1,328	33,270	15,942		81-3-10	92
Alabama		96,245			48,072				
Indiana	93,890	145,758	121,868	630	2,320	1,690		510	268-5-10
Louisiana	34,311	73,383	39,072	49,345	79,540	37,295		113-9-10	88-3-10
Missouri	17,297	55,988	38,761	3,618	10,569	6,951		225	192-1-10
Arkansas		12,552			1,676				
Illinois	11,501	53,788	42,287	781	1,374	593		367-7-10	76
Michigan Ter'y.	4,616	8,591	3,973	144	174	30		86-9-10	21
Dis. of Columbia	16,079	22,614	6,535	7,944	10,335	2,391		140-7-10	30-1-10
	5,862,093	7,872,504	2,010,128	1,377,810	1,778,056	401,598	1,357	34-3	29
		dec of Del	2,010,128		decrease.	400,346			

If the differences, which the observant author notices, really exist, they are in a rapid progress of obliteration. In our earlier days, when large fortunes were confined principally to the southern states, and wealth produced among the planters that hospitality and elegance for which they are still remarkable, the people of the north were simple and industrious farmers or merchants. But successful commerce has made the latter rich, and given them a taste for the pleasures of refined society; and while they equal their fellow citizens of the south in hospitality and elegance, they surpass them in splendour and munificence.

The cultivation of the arts and sciences has also been carried further in the north than in the south. In a literary point of view, there is no comparison.

Whatever may be the moral effect of slavery, it is most conspicuous, not upon the upper classes, but upon the lower; giving them feelings of pride and habits of indolence, that destroy their respectability and usefulness. That valuable order of society called the yeomanry, cannot exist by the side of slavery. Between that baneful institution and the wealthy and proud proprietor, there lies a desert. If such a state of things is favourable to republican virtue and happiness; then are the unwholesome swamps

and dismal pine barrens of Georgia, more beautiful and pleasant than the green hills and valleys of Pennsylvania.

NOTE 19. PAGE 21.

In turning over our author's pages, we find that he says in page 21, that none of our mountains exceed twelve hundred feet in height. They certainly bear no proportion to our mighty rivers and lakes, and the vast extent of our territory; but they are nevertheless considerably higher than he seems to have been aware of. Mount Washington, the loftiest of the White Mountains, in New-Hampshire, is six thousand six hundred and thirty-four feet above the level of the sea. The highest of the Green Mountains, in Vermont, is four thousand two hundred and seventy-nine. The Table Mountain, in South Carolina, four thousand. The Peakes of Otter, on the Blue Ridge in Virginia, three thousand nine hundred and fifty-five. The top of the Catskills, in New York, three thousand eight hundred and four. The highest peake of the Rocky Mountains, in Missouri, supposed to be a spur or continuation of the Andes, is twelve thousand five hundred feet above the surface of the sea; and James' Peake, on the same range, twelve thousand.

NOTE 20. PAGE 122.

• It seems to us, that the author has here mistaken the effect for the cause. The absence of "men of leisure" is occasioned, we think, by the want of hereditary fortunes, and not the reverse. Persons are said to be men of leisure, in proportion as they have enough to support themselves without exertion.

NOTE 21. PAGE 126.

To these exceptions, (of the bank of Pennsylvania and the capitol of Richmond,) we would add some others, which we think equally entitled to it.

The exchange of Baltimore, and the Catholic cathedral in the same city, as far as it is finished, both designed by the architect of the bank of Pennsylvania, (B. H. Latrobe, Esq.) the bank of the United States, in Philadelphia, designed by one of his pupils, (Mr. Strickland) who does so much credit to his profession, and has in the building in question, furnished so pure a model of Grecian beauty; the battle-monument at Baltimore, designed by Maximilian Godefroy, Esq. occur to us at the moment, as equally deserving of admiration.

Had the capitol of Washington been finished in accordance with the original plan of Mr. Latrobe, which we have seen engraved, (by Sutherland) it would claim exemption likewise:

but it has been utterly disfigured by the immense dome which overshadows it, destroying its symmetry and violating all propriety. Not its hall of representatives, nor senate chamber, nor eastern portico, can rescue it from the censure it deserves.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

- Page 11, line 27, for *spareness* read *sparseness*.
 Page 16, 1st line, of note for *Products* read *Revenue*.
 Page 52, insert "*Chap. V.*" in the space over "*The Army.*"
 Page 89, line 11, for "*these*" read "*those.*"

3P 22V

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